chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:10 PM Page 93

2 Indian Indigenous Concepts and Perspectives: Developments and Future Possibilities

S. K. Kiran Kumar*

INTRODUCTION

In the past two decades, there has been a growing emphasis on making the discipline of psychology culturally relevant and appropriate. Nisbett et al. (2001) argue that the considerable social differences that exist among different cultures affect not only their beliefs about specific aspects of the world, but also (a) their naive metaphysical systems at a deep level, (b) their tacit epistemologies, and (c) even the nature of their cognitive processes—the ways by which they know the world. They hold that East Asians are characterized by the *holistic* thought in contrast to the *analytical* thought that is characteristic of the West, which underlies knowledge development. Such cross-cultural findings have prompted many researchers to question the validity and usefulness of theories, models, and principles of modern psychology developed in the West for different cultures. Hence, the emerging view is that modern psychology cannot be considered as universal psychology. This has resulted in attempts to *indigenize* psychology and to develop *indigenous* psychologies all over the world (Kim & Berry, 1993; Kim & Park, 2005).

In the Indian context, Pandey (1988) highlighted a set of inter-related general trends emerging in psychology research in India in the third ICSSR survey: (a) outgrowing the alien framework; (b) roots of psychology in Indian philosophical thought and tradition; (c) psychological assessment in

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chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:10 PM Page 94

the socio-cultural context; (d) psychology for socio-economic change and national development; and (e) cross-cultural psychology and partnership for research. Again, in the fourth survey as its editor, Pandey (2004) titled the concluding chapter: 'Psychology in India Enters the Twenty-first Century—Movement Toward an Indigenous Discipline', which reflects the concerns expressed in the previous survey. He notes that a

> collective approach of professional organizations, national agencies, and academic departments would create a synergy in facilitating the development of indigenous psychological science. For example, 160 psychologists who participated in a national conference on Indian approaches to psychology in Pondicherry on September 29 to October 1, 2002 agreed on a manifesto highlighting (a) to promote indigenous psychology in India; and (b) to develop new psychological models, which may have pan-human relevance. (Pandey, 1988, p. 366)

It is noteworthy that the editorial board of the fifth survey, recognizing the newly emerging trend, has decided to devote an exclusive chapter to this theme, in addition to the coverage of culturally relevant work in different domains in the related chapters. In this chapter, the work carried out since 1993 has been reviewed. As the work covered in this review cuts across different psychological domains, the emphasis has been on identifying the *general trend of research* rather than on domain-specific issues, for which the reader is suggested to go through other relevant chapters. The other objective is to highlight the *contexts* in which these researches have been carried out and the *approaches* they have taken. In the end, the basic *issues and problems* involved in developing Indian psychological perspectives are discussed with a few *suggestions* for future research.

As this is a nascent area of research, the reviewer has included all studies that suggest a particular trend or theme, even though they may not measure up to critical scrutiny in terms of conceptualization of the problem and methodological rigour. The review is not exhaustive in coverage but is representative. Many original articles were not available. Hence, what is missed here can be found elsewhere in other chapters.

For convenience, the chapter is organized into the following sections. It begins with a discussion on trends in indigenous and Indian research. Next, it takes a look at the scope of this review, followed by an overview of relevant publications since 1993. The fourth section discusses efforts towards defining Indian psychology, and the fifth handles the topic of ontological and epistemological premises of Indian psychology. The next two sections deal with developments related to systems of Indian thought, and the development of specific concepts—indigenous, general psychological concepts, respectively. The eighth section traces the development of Indian perspectives on illness, health, well-being, therapy, and healing. In section nine the development of concepts in organizational psychology is discussed. Problems and challenges in developing Indian psychology

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:10 PM Page 95

are handled next, and the chapter ends with a discussion on the future possibilities in this field.

TRENDS OF RESEARCH: INDIGENIZATION, INDIGENOUS, AND INDIAN

There are three broad trends of research that are identifiable from the published literature namely, 'indigenization of psychology', 'indigenous psychology', and 'Indian psychology'. Even though researchers have tried to define indigenization and indigenous precisely, many have used them interchangeably, leading to confusion, and it is therefore, necessary to take a close look at these two concepts. *Indigenize* means subjecting to native influence, and *indigenous* means originating naturally in a region (Thompson, 1995). Sinha (1993) treats indigenization as 'transformations of the scientific psychology that was borrowed from the west that would allow it to take on a character suited to the sociocultural milieu of the country' (p. 34). Indigenization is neither a rejection of Western domination, nor is it negative or destructive in orientation. Instead, it is a vital step towards the establishment of *true universals* in psychology, which are *proved* rather than *assumed* (Sinha, 1995). Thus, D. Sinha maintains the goal of development of universal laws and principles of psychology, but has created space for cultural diversity in this endeavour.

In recent years, many efforts towards indigenization have been undertaken. Culture has been both a '*source*' as well as a '*target*' in the process of research (Sinha, 1996). For instance, Roland (1988) extended psychoanalysis to respond to Indian culture. He introduced 'we self regard', 'familial self', 'and 'spiritual self' as genuine aspects of psychoanalysis. Kurtz (1992) made a similar attempt. The application of psychoanalysis to understand the Indian mind by Kakar (1996) is another example. There are still others, like Krishnamurthy (1996), who favour the development of psychology for Indians using 'micro-variables', rather than 'macro-variables', with a focus on social class structure from the Marxian perspective. In these attempts, culture is the 'target'. An example of how culture can be a 'source' in the indigenization process is the application of insights available in Vedānta and Sāmkhya for developing a theory of management and organizational behaviour (Chakraborty, 1991, 1995, 1998; Sharma, 1996). Rao (2004) provides an alternative view of the phrase 'indigenization of psychology', which refers to the 'process of rendering psychological knowledge culturally relevant and appropriate', *irrespective of its origin*. Extensive discussion on indigenization of psychology in India can be found in Sinha (2000, 2002) and in Pandey (2004).

Girishwar Misra is strongly in favour of developing 'indigenous psychology' (Gergen et al., 1996; Misra, 1988, 1994, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002;

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:10 PM Page 96

Misra & Agarwal, 1985; Misra & Gergen, 1993). Misra and Gergen (1993) have argued that mainstream psychology, predominantly based on a positivist–empiricist mode of enquiry and committed to a belief in the psychological universals, has been vigorously engaged in characterizing human lives in terms of mechanistic and individualistic constructions. Its aim is predicting and controlling the behaviour of 'acultural and decontextualized others'. They point out that this enterprise is directed at verifying a peculiarly Western perspective. In doing so, they aver, it ignores the possibilities of other systems of understanding, grounded in different cultures. 'Culture' remains marginalized in the psychological discourse. As they point out, differing cultures may provide a range of psychological intelligibilities if viewed in terms of enablements and constraints, thus enriching the capacities for human relationship. Therefore, they call for developing a 'culturally informed psychology'.

While arguing in favour of reorienting the human psychological discourse to incorporate the Indian world view, Misra suggests: 'In doing so, the belief in some natural/universal human psychological principles is unwarranted. Instead there should be a model of conceptualization that emerges from the language and practice of real people in real/concrete interactional or transactional situations.'(2000, p. 66). According to Misra, it reflects the following: (a) there is no objective reality out there, which psychologists have to map, and examine the accuracy of that mapping (representation) with the objective reality; (b) psychologists should not engage in reductionism; (c) they should respect the construal of phenomena by the people, which have earned legitimacy in the conventions shared by them; and (d) the focus of attention should be on practical activities, activities in which people engage in real-life encounters. Misra also disagrees with the view that the development of indigenous psychology is the road to universal psychology. This can be called the *culture-specific approach*. Many researchers (Berry et al., 1992; Sinha, 1995) have used indigenous psychology in this particularistic and local sense. The terms that come closer to indigenous psychology in current usage are 'cultural psychology' (Shweder), 'ethnopsychology' (Danziger), and 'folk psychology' (see Thomas, 2001).

An alternative view of indigenous psychology can be found in the writings of Naidu (2002). Naidu argues, 'any psychology which serves the people with whom I identify is for me Indigenous Psychology even if it has imported components' (ibid., p. 152). It will serve two purposes: (a) providing our students with an incisive understanding of the working of their own minds (and behaviour), which should enable them to understand others and also enable them to 'identify with and take pride in the positive aspects of their own culture and heritage' and (b) solving the problems of our people through a psychology that speaks '*their* language and makes sense to *them*'" (p. 152).

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:10 PM Page 97

Rao (2004, 2005) distinguishes 'Indian psychology' from indigenization of psychology and indigenous psychology. According to him, Indian psychology is a distinct psychological tradition derived from Indian thought, and it is a perspective broader than indigenous psychology whose usefulness and relevance goes beyond the borders of India and its cultural settings. It is also different from psychology in India. It does not refer to cross-cultural psychology either. It involves more than the development of indigenous psychology of India. Phrases like 'psychology in the Indian tradition(s)', 'psychological insights and practices based on the Indian tradition', 'Indian contributions to psychology', 'Indian perspective on psychology', 'Indian psychological thought', and so on as noted by Paranjpe (2004a) and Varma (2004) have been used by investigators in the same sense. Cornelissen (2005) observes that the Indian tradition can make a major contribution to psychology as an academic discipline in terms of philosophical formation; epistemology, and methods of subjective enquiry; theories of self and personality; special areas of psychological theory; applied psychology; and pathways for change.

While advocates of indigenization of psychology and Indian psychology adhere to the goal of developing universal laws and principles, advocates of indigenous psychology argue in favour of developing laws and principles applicable to the local context. In contemporary psychology, these two trends have been referred to as 'universalism' and 'contextualism', which in turn are rooted in the epistemological debate on 'realism' and 'relativism'.

THE SCOPE OF THIS REVIEW

I have earlier (Salagame[1], 2001a) tried to explicate the different connotations of the phrase 'Indian Psychology',[2] using Ho's (1993) approach to the understanding of Asian psychology as a tool of semantic analysis. They are as follows: (a) psychology in India, (b) Indian psychological thought, (c) psychology with an Indian identity, (d) a psychology created by Indian psychologists, and (e) psychology of Indian people. These expressions capture the various shades of cultural perspectives.

Psychology in India refers to the history and current status of psychology as an academic discipline or a professional specialty within the country (see Dalal, 2002). All the ICSSR surveys and other review articles written periodically document the status of the discipline in our country. Development of Indian psychology is one aspect of the process that is being addressed here and that takes many forms.

Indian psychological thought represents the psychological insights available in different Indian philosophical systems like Vedānta, Sāmkhya, yoga, Jainism, Buddhism, and others. Scholars and psychologists like

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:10 PM Page 98

Jadunath Sinha (1958, 1961, 1968), S. K. Ramachandra Rao (1962), Raghunath Safaya (1975), J. P. Atreya (1985), B. Kuppuswamy (1985), S. P. Srivastava (2001), and many others have attempted to present these insights from a comparative perspective. Here, the authors have tried to present the generally agreed upon views as well as systemic differences. A recent addition to this effort is the *Handbook of Indian Psychology*, edited by Rao, Paranjpe and Dalal (2008).

Psychology with an Indian identity refers to such terms as 'Buddhist psychology' (David, 1914, 1936), 'Hindu psychology' (Akhilananda, 1948, 1952), 'Jaina psychology' (Kalghatgi, 1961; Mehta, 1957/2002), 'Dravidian psychology' (Saktidharan & Kumar, 2001), and so on. In these works, scholars have attempted to focus on the psychological insights available in different traditions and as they are exclusively of Indian origin they carry that Indian identity.

Psychology created by Indian psychologists. This refers to a system(s) of psychology developed by Indian psychologists, who adhere to a metatheoretical or philosophical position. Unfortunately, most of the research conducted in India is rooted in Western paradigm, and psychologists in India have not made any efforts to develop a new psychology, which is guided by a philosophical position that reflects the Indian ethos.

In recent years, one emerging trend that will be reviewed, which serves as an illustration here, is the development of a psychology by the followers of Sri Aurobindo. Two publications, 'Integral Psychology' (Sen, 1986) and 'A Greater Psychology—An Introduction to the Psychological Thought of Sri Aurobindo' (A. S. Dalal, 2001), illustrate the attempts made to bring together many of the psychological insights available in Sri Aurobindo and Mother's writings. But Sri Aurobindo's work has influenced many Westerners also and they too have made significant contributions (see section 'Developments Related to Systems of Indian Thought').

Psychology of Indian people refers to a body of psychological knowledge, about patterns of thinking and behaving, and to the understanding of the behaviour of Indian masses. For instance, Ramanujam (1990) a well-known poet and a folklorist, raised a question, '*Is there an Indian way of thinking*'? He noted that Indians have a tendency to think and live with contradictions depending upon the context and hence, it is difficult to identify a particular way of thinking that characterizes Indian people. He also notes that this observation has been made by many foreign travellers from ancient times. Researchers, mostly working in the area of cross-cultural and social psychology, have made some of the major arguments in favour of a cultural approach to the development of such a psychology of Indian people (Gergen et al., 1996; Krishnan, 2003; Misra, 2000, 2001; Misra & Gergen, 1993; Misra et al., 1995; Neki, 2000; Sinha, 1996).

The literature reviewed in this chapter takes into account the usages (2), (3), and (4) and focusses on Indian psychology in the above three sense.

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:10 PM Page 99

Literature related to 'indigenization' and 'indigenous psychology' is not reviewed here, unless they have some relevance, but they are covered in other chapters by different authors in different domains.

A BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF PUBLICATIONS SINCE 1993

Contemporary investigators have endeavoured to develop specific psychological concepts available in different Indian systems. Some of them have become a part of day-to-day vocabulary even in many of the Indian languages and dialects. They are often invoked in explaining and accounting for behaviour, and in counselling and therapeutic situations. Unless these are properly understood, explicated, and operationalized, it is not possible to develop an effective system of Indian psychological thought in the modern sense. Some of them have received the attention of researchers depending on their individual interest; inclination, and expertise. They include phenomena such as consciousness, cognition, emotion, intelligence, memory, motivation, and others. Some have tried to work within a system.

A bird's eye view of the different topics and themes on which researchers have focussed their attention is given below in Box 2.1.

Box 2.1: Published Works Pertaining to Indian Psychological Thought Since 1993

Indian perspectives on different psychological phenomena

Consciousness and its states: Balodhi, 1993; Cornelissen, 2004; Jitātmānanda, 2004; Joshi, 2004; Marwaha, 1994; Misra, 2004; Mukhopadhyay & Renukadevi, 2004; Pradhan, 2004; K. R. Rao, 1997, 2002, 2004; Singh, 2004; Vaidya, 2004; and Veezinathan, 2004.

Child-rearing: Kapur & Mukundan, 2001; Krishnan, 1998a.

Cognition: Misra, 1999, 2002; Muralidharan & Srivastava, 1995; Samarapungavan et al., 1996.

Education: Gupta, 2002.

Emotions: Jain, 1994; Menon, 2000; Misra, 2004; Paranjpe & Bhatt, 1997; Roy, 1999; Shinde, 2002, Singh, 1999.

Intelligence: Sibia et al., 2003; Srivastava & Misra, 1996, 1999, 2001.

Memory: Deshpande, 1996.

Motivation: Rangaswami, 1994.

Self and personality: Auluck, 2002b; Bhattacharya, 1993; Dhawan et al., 1995; B. Krishnan, 1976/2002; Misra & Giri, 1995; Naidu, 1994; Paranjpe, 1995, 1998a, b, c; Saxena & Sen, 1998; Y. Sinha, 1994.

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:10 PM Page 100

Values: Chauhan, 1994.

Wisdom: Misra et al., 2000.

Environment: Pirta, 2004a, b; 2005; Pirta & Goswami, 2001.

Specific Indian constructs and attempts at measuring them
Ahamkara: Banerjee, 1994a; Salagame et al., 2005; Salagame & Raj, 1999.

Agni: Gupta, 2002.

Karma: Karnik & Suri, 1995; Menon, 1998.

Purushartha: Wadhwa & Jain, 1990.

Dukkha: Verma, 1994.

Samskara: Sinha & Sharma, 1994.

Swadhayaya: Shinde, 2001, 2002.

Triguna: Das, 1995; Daftuar & Anjuli, 1997; Sitamma et al., 1995; Marutham et al., 1998, Wolf, 1998.

Yama and niyama: Kalyan Kumar, 1993.

Indian perspectives on suffering—Illness, healing—Therapy, and well-being—Health
Agrawal & Dalal, 1993; Anand et al., 2001; Beg & Beg, 1996; Bhawuk, 2000; Bijlani, 2004; Dalal, 2000b; Dwivedi, 2002; Jawa, 2002; Juthani, 2001; Kakar, 2003; Kohli & Dalal, 1998; Lam & Palsane, 1997; Manickam, 2004; Misra, 2000; Naidu & Pande, 1999; Nandy, 2000; Narayanan, 2004; Neki, 2000; Palsane & Lam, 1996; Palsane et al., 2002; Paranjpe, 1998b; Parasher, 2000; Ram, 2000; Rangaswami, 1996; Rao, 1998; Shamasundar, 1993, 1995a, b, 1997, 2001, 2003; Shinde, 2001; Singh & Misra, 2000; Tewari, 2000; Tripathi, 2004; Venkatachalam, 2003; Verma, 1998; Wig, 1999.

Indian perspectives on organizational behaviour
Bahl, 1995; Dhar & Dhar, 1994, 2001; Gupta, 1994, 2002; Nadkarni, 1997; Sharma, 1995; A. Sharma, 1995; S. Sharma, 1996; Sharma & Lad, 1994; J. B. P. Sinha, 1994, 2005.

Most of the studies listed are basically exploratory in nature. They are not uniform in their goals, objectives, and methodologies. Some of them are theoretical/conceptual and others empirical. Among the empirical studies, some are 'psychometric' and others are 'experimental'. Most researchers have also not followed any specific research programme. Nevertheless, they can be regarded as first steps in developing Indian psychology.

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:10 PM Page 101

TOWARDS DEFINING INDIAN PSYCHOLOGY

As traditions of Indian thought have developed continuously over thousands of years, primarily as oral traditions, there has periodically been assimilation of many ideas of different schools, which are found to be valid from Indian epistemological standards. Therefore, there is a need to distinguish between what is 'common to all the schools' and what are the 'unique aspects of different schools', which will enable us to 'delineate general characteristics' and identify the 'central concerns'. It is a very arduous task and perhaps, the greatest challenge that we have to face in developing Indian psychology. Some researchers have undertaken such a task (Auluck, 2002a; Paranjpe, 1998b, 2004a; Rao, 1997, 2004, 2005; Srivastava, 2001).

According to Srivastava (2001), 'practical attitude', 'prospective approach', 'introspective character', 'focus on super-sensible experience', 'dynamical–functional approach', 'continuity with other disciplines', 'purposivistic attitude', and 'an organismic and integral approach' are the eight fundamental characteristics of Indian psychology.

Auluck (2002a) has identified the following salient features of Indian psychology. (a) It is holistic and ideographic in approach. (b) It is aimed at understanding the workings of 'I-world', to bring improvement and growth of self, through acquisition of mastery over the ways of mind to ultimately seek liberation from all enslaving forces. (c) It goes deeper and explores both phenomenal and noumenal reality—*vyāvahārika and pāramārthika satya* in the words of Shankara. (d) Unlike Western psychology, the *Māndukya Upanishad* comprehensively analyses waking, dreaming, and sleeping states, and proves the 'inevitability of a common substratum, that is, *ātman* which cannot be identified with our common sense notion of waking self'.

Auluck (2002a) notes that Indian thinkers in search of the self discovered totally an unexpected dimension of man's existence, that is, *ātman*—the truth of existence itself. An honest analysis of oneself along these lines reveals to us the sources of stress, problems, sorrows, conflicts, and so on, which provides a clue to free oneself from their debilitating effects. Hence, according to the author Indian psychology has all the essentials of applied psychology. Paranjpe (2004a) observes that 'the core, but not all, of Indian Psychology is *ādhyātma*, which means that it is about the self, or more particularly aimed at spiritual self-development' (p. 7). Hence, he emphasizes on 'identifying the most fundamental concepts and insights from the Indian tradition in the field of personality and the self' (p. 6).

Rao (2005) has provided a heuristic model of Indian psychology (see Box 2.2). He notes that psychology in the Indian tradition is an 'inner discipline' in search of realizing truth and perfection in the human condition, which is an unconditioned and unmasked state. It is not only a body of generalizable principles but also a set of practices that can be used for the transformation of the human condition towards perfection.

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:10 PM Page 102

Box 2.2: An Outline of a Model of Indian Psychology

(1) 'Psychology is the study of the *person* (*jiva*)'.

(2) 'The *person* is consciousness embodied'.

(3) 'The *person* is not an isolated and disconnected entity in that *jiva* is transpersonal, bound by transcognitive states'.

(4) 'Consciousness-as-such, is irreducibly distinct from the material objects, including the brain and the mind'.

(5) 'Mind is different from consciousness as well as the body/brain machine'.

(6) 'The mind may also be seen as the facilitating principle and function that interfaces consciousness at one end and the brain processes at the other'.

(7) 'Embodied consciousness appears circumscribed, conditioned and clouded by a vortex of forces generated by the mind-body connection. Consequently, the conditioned person becomes an instrument of individualized thought, passion and action, an isolated person'.

(8) 'From individuation arise subjectivity, rational thinking, and relativity of truth and values on the one hand, and ego as an organizing principle on the other'.

(9) 'Emergence of ego leads to attachment and craving resulting in the experience of anxiety, insecurity, stress, distress, disease and suffering'.

(10) 'The goal of human kind is *liberation* (*moksha*) from such an existential predicament of ignorance and suffering, through a process of deconditioning training and transformation of consciousness'.

(11) 'Endowed with consciousness, mind and body, the person is capable of brain-processed *learning* (*sravana*), mind-generated *understanding* (*manana*) and consciousness-accessed *realization* (*nididhyasana*)'.

(12) 'Yoga is a method of liberation via realization of transcognitive states. Realization takes different forms relative to the different dispositions of seekers. These include knowledge-focussed *jnana yoga* to meet the thought needs, devotion-filled *bhakti yoga* to deal with one's passionate nature, and action-oriented *karma yoga* for those dominated by the impulse to act'.

(13) 'While assuming that consciousness is the ground condition of all knowledge, Indian psychology studies

(14) 'It has its own methods appropriate to its subject matter and objectives. The methods are observational, but they are

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:10 PM Page 103

consciousness in its multifaceted manifestations and seeks to explore the experience of its true nature in one's being. While assuming that consciousness is the ground condition of all knowledge, Indian psychology studies consciousness in its multifaceted manifestations and seeks to explore the experience of its true nature in one's being'.

different from the externally oriented observations of 'outer' sciences. They are a peculiar blend of first- and second-person perspectives. They provide for personal, subjective, and non-relational authenticity and in-group, inter-subject validity'.

Source: K. R. Rao (2005).

Rao has discussed the implications and the applications of this model for reconciling science with spirituality, understanding psychic phenomena, and spiritual dimensions of health and wellness. He also notes that if Indian psychology and Western psychology are brought together 'we may be in a better position to understand the unity and nexus between mind, body and consciousness' (Rao, 2005, p. 3).

Transformative Concerns

The central theme, returning from the conditioned to the unconditioned state, as already discussed earlier, entails a fundamental transformation in human beings and that constitutes the second, most important defining feature of the Indian perspective. Basing his ideas on the teachings of Sri Aurobindo, Reddy (2004) advances the notion of *transformative psychology*, which is 'an inner psychology that provides man a basis for total transformation and integral self-perfection' (p. 192). It is a science of consciousness that does not stop with the knowledge of consciousness in its varied levels of operation in the external nature of man, but attempts to transform it, and the fulcrum of this process is the inmost consciousness, which Sri Aurobindo has called '*psychic being*'. This transformation is a matter of widening, deepening, and uplifting the different states of our consciousness—states of which we are aware as well as those of which we are not yet conscious.

One can say that the central preoccupation of Indian tradition is *ātman* (self) and knowing it. Therefore, there existed *ādhyātma shāstra* not *manahshāstra* in the Indian tradition and we cannot afford to lose sight of this important distinction, because that differentiates what researchers would like to term as Indian psychology from modern psychology. It is instructive to note here what Charles Tart (1975a), who published *Transpersonal Psychologies*, the first book on that subject said about modern psychology:

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:10 PM Page 104

Orthodox, Western psychology has dealt very poorly with the spiritual side of man's nature, choosing either to ignore its existence or to label it pathological. Yet much of the agony of our times stems from a spiritual vacuum…If we want to find ourselves, our spiritual side, it is imperative for us to look at the psychologies that have dealt with it. (p. 5)

Therefore, we can define Indian psychology as *ādhyātma shāstra*. Within the framework of *ādhyātma shāstra*, ancient Indian seers and sages discussed all aspects of human behaviour, ranging from 'sexuality to spirituality', noting their nature and relative value in the scheme of human life. Hence, it is not wrong to say that Indian psychology, as defined currently, is much more comprehensive in its scope than modern psychology. One has to only take a look at the three volumes of Indian psychology by Jādunāth Sinha (1958, 1961, 1968) to appreciate this. In this broad canvas we have to understand Indian perspectives on psychology.

ONTOLOGICAL AND EPISTEMOLOGICAL PREMISES OF INDIAN PSYCHOLOGY

Why ancient sages and seers were interested in *ādhyātma shāstra* and not *manah shāstra* can be understood with reference to the ontological and epistemological premises of Indian tradition and their influence on knowledge development. Sociologists of knowledge since the time of Karl Mannheim and others in thirties and till date, have tried to show that the pursuit of knowledge is essentially a social enterprise, often influenced by the shared assumptions and values of knowledge seekers. Thomas Kuhn (1970) argued that scientific activity is governed by a world view and set of assumptions shared by the scientific community that serves as a conceptual framework or 'paradigm', which is guided by the values that scientists share with broader community.

Jurgen Habermas (1971) identified differing social interests—technical, critical, and emancipatory—as overarching goals that may guide the pursuit of knowledge. Natural sciences have been guided by the Baconian 'technical' goal of the mastery of nature. 'Critical' interests examine the basic principle of reality, justice, and the like that guide the disciplines such as philosophy and jurisprudence. Marxist social science is guided largely by 'emancipatory' interest of freeing the oppressed class from the bourgeois (Paranjpe, 2002).

Ancient Indian seers and sages had demonstrated interest in technical and critical goals of knowledge development as evident from the authoritative texts and treatises they wrote on different branches like astronomy and mathematics; law and polity; grammar and literature; medicine; philosophy; and so on. In addition, they also had an emancipatory interest, not of the Marxian kind but of a transcendental nature, which is the corner

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:10 PM Page 105

stone of Indian tradition. Emancipation envisioned by Indian seers was not from bourgeois, but from all the limiting conditions of human existence. Therefore, Indian seers and sages were and are interested more in the ways and means of freeing oneself from the limiting conditions of existence rather than being preoccupied in studying the labyrinth of mind, which according to them is the binding factor.

Rao (2004) has articulated the Indian position very succinctly as follows: 'The overarching concern in Indian psychology is the "person", his purity, perfection, freedom and liberation…The person per se is consciousness-as-such. Pure consciousness in its sublime state is knowledge of self-certifying truth, beauty in its pristine manifestation, and goodness in its ultimate perfection. It is cognition, emotion, and value all rolled into one. In the existential embodied situation, however, the person finds himself conditioned…In the Indian view, this is not an irrevocable and irremediable situation. It is possible to return to the unconditioned state…There are techniques that can be used to help us in the process of liberation from the conditioned to unconditioned state' (pp. 58–59).

The implications of this distinction of unconditioned and conditioned states for knowledge development, according to K. R. Rao (2004), are as follows: (a) The human psychological condition is a vortex of various forces acting on and influencing the 'person'. (b) The conditioned person becomes an instrument of individualized thought, action, and passion. (c) So knowledge becomes relative and biased, happiness personal, and beauty subjective. (d) Knowing and 'being' become separate. Values get divorced from actions. (e) What is beautiful may not be valued. What is valued may not be acted on. What is known may not be true; and what is true may not be known. (f) A person can free one self, which 'can happen in various degrees, shades, and grades' and there are 'different halts and stages on the return path and the unconditioned state is a manifestation of pure consciousness; it is an experience of consciousness-as-such' (Rao, 2004, pp. 58–59).

The experiential basis of this is very well articulated in the Māndukya Upanishad. 'The Fourth (Turiya), the wise say, is not inwardly cognitive, nor outwardly cognitive, nor cognitive both-wise; neither is it an indefinite mass of cognition, nor collective cognition, nor non-cognition. It is unseen, unrelated, inconceivable, uninferable, unimaginable, and indescribable. It is the essence of the one self-cognition common to all states of consciousness. All phenomena cease in it. It is peace. It is bliss, it is non-duality. This is the self, and it is to be realized'. (MU, 7, tran. Swami Sarvananda, 1976, pp. 14–15).

It is this pure consciousness that forms the ground and the experiences of waking, dreaming, and sleeping states constitute the figure, unlike the modern psychological definitions in which ordinary waking state is taken as the point of reference (see Tart, 1969). From the perspective of Māndukya neither of them is superior over the other and Indian tradition accords

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:10 PM Page 106

same status to waking and dreaming. Thus we find a clear conceptualization of cognitive and non-cognitive states, and less importance is given to them than the state of *turiya* (fourth).

Turiya is often misrepresented as a separate state. But modern seers and sages who have an experience of it explain with an analogy comparing it to a lamp inside the projector, which always remains and partakes in all movie shows, comedy, or tragedy, without itself being affected in any way (Ramana Maharishi, 1996, pp. 19–20 and 63–65). In other words, it is the ground of all our phenomenal experiences, be it in the state of waking, dreaming, or sleeping. If we have to 'know or realize or experience' it, all phenomenal experiences have to cease at least for a *kshana*.

Patanjali's *yoga sutra* serves as another good illustration here. Although it is now widely accepted as a most authoritative text on different states of consciousness, for spiritual aspirants it serves as a practical manual for transcendence of the phenomenal experience. The first *sutra* defines yoga as the cessation of the modification of all mental activities (*yogahcittavrttinirodhaha*). The aim of yoga is not to have many altered state experiences, but to go beyond all kinds of experiences rooted in subject–object duality. Thus, we find substantial amount of psychological deliberation in the context of self-knowledge and self-realization, *ātma vidya* and *ātma sākshātkāra*.

Such distinctions as above lead to the distinction between two major kinds of knowledge—*parā vidya* (transcendental) and *aparā vidya* (empirical). *Parā vidya* refers to that which helps a person to move from a conditioned existence to an unconditioned state. This is very well illustrated in that oft-quoted statement *yā vidyā sā vimuktaye*, which means 'that is knowledge, which helps to attain liberation'. This knowledge is self-knowledge known as *ātma vidya* or *ātma jnāna*. It is also known as, supreme knowledge. This is always contrasted with *aparā vidya* or knowledge of the universe, which is of a lower order and pursues the technical and critical interests.

It may not be wrong to say that though ancient sages and seers discussed everything about the nature of mind and its functions, they did it mostly in the practical context of self-realization and liberation (*moksa*) and how mind serves as an obstacle in the journey towards transcendence.[3] The journey for transcendence opens the possibility to go beyond the limitations of ego and expanding the existential reality to incorporate everything (*sarva*). Therefore it has implications for the good of the person and society also. Mind is considered as an instrument (*karana*) only. The interest is in going beyond mind rather than in studying the mind and its functions per se. Therefore, a clear distinction is made between pure consciousness (*shuddha caitanya*) and mind (*manas* or *chitta*). But primacy is accorded to *shuddha caitanya* than to *manas* or *citta*.

Gupta (1999) has observed that Indian thought systems are basically metaphysical in character and their key concern has been to enable an

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:10 PM Page 107

individual self to transcend the material world. 'In the process, empirical psychological traditions could not be established in India… For instance, an account of some problems of perception e.g., perception of the self, perception of the universal, etc., is unintelligible without a reference to their metaphysical foundation' (p. 3). He observes that according to such traditions a paradigm for psychology has to be in the frame of a 'top-down strategy', with experiential–analytical and reflexive foundation. 'In the aphoristic terms, the Indian model works on the assumption of *I am so I know* and not that *I think so I am*.' (p. 3)

The two kinds of knowledge associated with transcendental and empirical are rooted in two major kinds of cognition namely, *pratyaksha jnāna* and *parōksha jnāna*. *Pratyaksha jnāna* is direct cognition, of an intuitive nature, and is known variously as *yogi pratyaksha* and *aparōkshānubhuti* in yoga and Vedanta parlance. *Parōksha jnāna* is indirect cognition, mediated by sensor—intellectual apparatus. Modern psychology depends chiefly on *parōksha jnāna*. On the other hand, in the Indian tradition psychological insights are developed based on both *parōksha jnāna* and *pratyaksha jnāna*. *Pratyaksha jnāna* involves direct cognition of the nature of things in the universe also. Misra (1999) has delineated these differences and has discussed the issues elaborately. He notes that 'the Indian view has evolved in the context of two levels of reality, i.e., empirical and transcendental. The explication of knowing in this context yields new forms of intelligibilities and enriches the discourse on human knowledge' (p. 1). Gupta (1999) points out that from the Indian point of view thinking is a manifestation of being and being is self-validating. Thinking process not only springs forth from being but it also dissolves into being. Therefore, ontology and epistemology are integrally related to each other.

Nevertheless, the paradigm based on Indian systems is not existential and humanistic in the same way as accepted in Western psychology. 'The critical concern of all these systems has been to comprehend the dynamics between the individual self and external self. In the process many intricate aspects of these dynamics are unraveled, defining the processes of individual functioning, some of which remain unique to Eastern psychology (Gupta, 1999, p. 1).'

Thus, the Indian thought systems have 'experiential–cognitive' bases. Methodologically speaking, *adhyayana* (study) or *swādhyāya* (self-study), *abhyāsa* (practice), *anubhūti* (experiencing), and *pramāna* (demonstration) are important ingredients of any study. According to Gupta (1999) the emphasis on the practice and experiencing accompanied by analysis makes Indian systems demonstrative, which is the kernel concept of Indian epistemology. The accounts of self-realized people also facilitate attaining a certain state that may be authenticated by applications, self-practice, and training.

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:10 PM Page 108

DEVELOPMENTS RELATED TO SYSTEMS OF INDIAN THOUGHT

Psychology in Upanishads

Upanishads are the first major works pertaining to psychological phenomena. Although Vedic hymns have many original ideas and concepts useful for psychology in a seed form, because they are primarily poetic and symbolic in nature they are not easily accessible for researchers and scholars and hence their significance is not obvious unless one delve deep into the symbolism as Sri Aurobindo has done. It is in the Upanishads that those seed ideas have been extensively developed. Thus Upanishads, which were developed in the end of Vedic period, hence also called Vedānta are culmination of Vedic insights. They are primarily, discourses on the ultimate nature of reality, of self, and of consciousness that took place between different rishis and their disciples in a one-to-one manner.

Upanishads are gold mine of psychological material. The nature of mind and its functions and different psychological phenomena—normal, abnormal, pathological, paranormal, and spiritual—are discussed (Ranade, 1968). However, these phenomena do not constitute the primary focus of Upanishads. They serve to show the limitations of human experiences, be it ordinary or non-ordinary or extra-ordinary, so that the aspirant makes earnest efforts to know experientially the ultimate reality, whose nature is *shuddha caitanya*, pure consciousness. Thus all empirical knowledge—psychological or otherwise—are considered valid only in a limited sphere and is regarded as false (*mithya*), in the sense that it keeps changing (*anithya*) and is not absolute. Therefore in the tradition, Upanishadic and Vedantic teachings are known as *jñāna yoga* or *jñāna mārga*, because they emphasize on discriminating between true knowledge (*satya*) and false knowledge (*mithya*). If *abhyāsa* and *vairāgya* are the basis of yoga, *vićāra*, enquiry and *viveka*, discrimination is the key in Vedānta.

The concepts related to both dualistic and monistic thinking initially developed in 12 major Upanishads, which fall into three groups, 'each standing for *definite stage of thought development connected with the two Ultimates of reality*' (Rao, 1966, p. 100). *Brhadāranyka, Chāndogya, īśa, Kena, Māndukya, Aitereya, Taittiriya*, and *Kausitiki* are the ones, which come under the early Upanishadic period. *Mundaka* and *Katha* fall into the mid-Upanishadic period. *Prasna* and *Svetasvatara* belong to the later Upanishadic period. Hence, there is scope to systematically study the development of psychological thought in Upanishads and create a system of psychology. However, no such attempt has been made and researchers have focussed on one or two specific themes from some of the earlier Upanishads like *Māndukya* and *Taittiriya*, which have significance in contemporary psychology in the context of studies on consciousness and personality.

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:10 PM Page 109

Jāgrat, Swapna, and Sushupti

Three states of consciousness namely, *jāgrat, swapna*, and *sushupti*, often referred to as *avasthātraya*, along with *turiya*, which means fourth, are discussed in many of the important Upanishads, and exclusively in Māndukya Upanishad as noted earlier. Upanishadic rishis have characterized each of them and have given specific names for the experience of identity sense in each state and related field of experience.

Sharma (2005) has attempted to develop a heuristic model of 'quantum states of mind', based on this Upanishadic teaching. He speaks of three quantum states of mind namely, the state of Ordinary Perception (OP), state of Extra-Sensory Perception (ESP), and the state of Extra-Ordinary Perception (EOP); and combines these with four states of consciousness namely, waking (*jāgrat*), dreaming (*swapna*), sleeping (*sushupti*), and transcendent state (*turiya*), and has suggested a 12-state consciousness-perception matrix. Based on this matrix, Sharma presents a new typology of psychology namely, 'Psychology based on Division mindset', with 'subject–object duality' (ordinary perception); 'Psychology based on D-vision mindset', with decreased subject–object differentiation; (extra-sensory perception/intuition); and Psychology based on Divine-vision mindset', with a 'fusion of subject–object' (extra-ordinary perception/state of oneness). The author has discussed the implications of his model for creativity and communication in particular.

Although Sharma's model is attractive, it is not according to Māndukya Upanishad sloka 7, quoted above, because in *turiya* there is neither ordinary, nor extra-sensory, nor extra-ordinary perception. On the other hand, *turiya* serves as a backdrop for the other three states, and all the three are being supported by *turiya*, in a 'figure–ground' relation. Second, even in *sushupti*, deep sleep, the subject–object dichotomy is almost non-existent and hence, the perception categories do not apply for this state. Any kind of perception presupposes subject–object duality, which can only be present in waking and dreaming state. Therefore, this model requires modifications and corrections.

Panchakosha

Panchakosha is a concept elucidated in Taittiriya Upanishad (TU) in the section called *Ānandavalli*, which is frequently discussed by investigators. Kosha means sheath and they are five in number namely, *annamaya kosha, prānamaya kosha, manomaya kosha, vijnānamaya kosha,* and *ānandamaya kosha*. Corresponding to each of the five sheaths TU speaks of *annamaya purusha, prānamaya purusha, manomaya purusha, vijnānamaya purusha*, and *ānandamaya purusha*. The term *purusha* literally means man, but when used as a suffix it connotes the self-sense associated with each of them. In the language of modern psychology each sheath can be considered as a dimension of self (Sinha & Naidu, 1994).

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:10 PM Page 110

Based on the relation between different purushas and koshas, Salagame (2003, 2006) has argued that there is an integral relation between our sense of identity and the experience of happiness and well-being. Ordinarily people construe their identities or self-sense in terms of *annamaya or prānamaya* or *manomaya kosha* and remain established at that level. The evaluation of ill-being and well-being happens within this limited framework. *Trpti* (satisfaction of sensual pleasures) relates to *annamaya kosha*. *Harsha* (excitement associated with some events), *ullāsa* (feeling of pleasantness associated with the experience of natural beauty, a good breeze, etc.), and *santosha* (being pleased by some interpersonal interaction) relate to *prānamaya* and *manomaya kosha*. *Ānanda* (moments of bliss) relates to *vijnānamaya kosha, and ānandamaya* means pervaded by bliss.

We tend to think that happiness, joy, suffering; well-being, and so on, are due to presence or absence of certain objects to which we attach causal significance. According to TU on the other hand, happiness, joy, and well-being are those moments when there is unobstructed manifestation of *ānanda*, which is our original nature. It is the opaqueness of our mental faculties that obstructs the manifestation of *ānanda*. The Upanishad clarifies this point with the analogy of sunlight being obstructed temporarily by earth's rotation, clouds, and eclipse (Shankaracharya's commentary on TU—Anandavalli, p. 147). Therefore, within the framework of *panchakosha*, our happiness and well-being are ultimately a matter of accessing *ānandamaya kosha*, which is blissful in itself and 'being that', that is, *ānandamaya purusha* (Shankaracharya's commentary on TU—Anandavalli, p. 7), and the obstacles are our bio-psycho-social identity associated with different kosha. Therefore, our sense of well-being has an intrinsic relation to our self-definitions (Kumar, 2003, 2006).

Psychology in Sāmkhya

In the Indian tradition dualistic thinking is associated with Sāmkhya. *Purusa* and *Prakrti*, a principle of consciousness and a principle underlying the manifestation of the whole of phenomenal universe are two fundamentals of this system. Therefore, this system is considered as pluralistic and realistic. It is also considered as atheistic in its emphasis, because it does not speak of any God. Sāmkhya is well-known for its systematic exposition of the basic categories of universe derived from *Prakrti*, which are 24 in number (some schools include *Purusa* and count 25) and an elaborate theory of cosmic evolution whose nature is primarily conceived as psychological rather than physical. *Mahat* also known as *buddhi*, which represent the principle of intelligence, is considered as the first evolute from which comes *ahamkāra*, from which both physical and mental aspects of phenomenal reality further evolve. Sensory and motor organs, *manas*, *pancha bhutas*, and *panca tanmātras* are all considered as evolutes of *ahamkāra*.

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:10 PM Page 111

It is interesting that Sāmkhya traces the whole of cosmic evolution to psychological categories. It is a 'top-down' approach, which is diametrically opposed to the contemporary scientific perspectives on evolution that commences with physical substrates and hence, 'bottom-up' in its approach. *Ahamkāra* is the individuating principle par excellence. This concept is found in Upanishads and also in other schools; in the same sense as the principle underlying subject–object differentiation, representing the subjective pole.

Within Sāmkhya framework *Prakrti* is understood as constituted of three *gunas* (*triguna*) namely, *sattva, rajas*, and *tamas*, and is considered responsible for all phenomenal manifestations, material or mental. Thus from this perspective, there is no inherent opposition or duality between matter and mind. Mind is regarded as subtle matter.

The theory of *guna* has been accepted by all the other *darśana*s, and it has been one of the most important concepts in Indian tradition that is being evoked to explain everything in the universe, including human personality and behaviour. Thus, both the concepts *triguna* and *ahamkāra* have attracted the attention of researchers. As these concepts are not exclusively identified with Sāmkhya darśana any more, the researches related to them will be considered in detail in the next section on 'Development of specific concepts.'

Psychology and Yoga—Contemporary Researches

Besides Upanishads and Vedānta, perhaps the only system of Indian tradition, which has attracted the attention of laypersons and of researchers all over the world, is yoga. It is widely accepted that the teachings of Sāmkhya darśana are the philosophical foundations for yoga, which is a practical discipline. The scope of meditation and yoga ranges from simple relaxation to profound realization (see Feuerstein, 1989a, b; Murphy & Donovan, 1997). For more than a decade courses on Psychology of Yoga and Psychology of Upanishads are offered in California Institute of Integral Studies, San Francisco, USA, which was founded by Haridas Chaudhari, a disciple of Sri Aurobindo, and in other institutions. In this process, yoga is Westernized, globalized, and is no more Indian; like English language and computers are no more Western. Most of the contemporary research on yoga is carried out from a universalistic orientation, with a view to understand the essential mechanisms involved in different related procedures/techniques.

As Rao (1995) notes, even though Patanjali yoga and Tantra are differentiated, merger of both the systems has resulted in such popular forms as Hatha yoga and Raja yoga. Hatha yoga refers to the traditional formula/discipline aimed at perfect mastery over body. The five groups of techniques being *kriyas, āsanas, mudras, prānāyāma*, and *bandhas* are practised

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:10 PM Page 112

in various combinations to restore health of body; elimination of wastes and toxins; and to develop attitudes like courage, serenity, etc. On the other hand, 'Raja yoga' or 'Patanjali's *aśtānga yoga*' is a way of life with a set of practices for the regulation of mental activities (*yogaha chitta vrtti nnirodaha*-YS 1-1). They are aimed to free consciousness from the processes and identifications related to the *prakrti*. Patanjali's first five limbs of eightfold path are described as the preparatory, external form of yoga and the last three limbs as internal and essential form. Haridas Chaudhari regards them as 'multidisciplinary approach to ultimate self-realization'. He has distinguished these eight aspects into three kinds of disciplines namely, ethico-religious, (*yama* and *niyama*), physico-vital (*asana and pranayama*), and psycho-spiritual (*prathyāhara, dhārana, dhyāna*, and *samādhi* (Chaudhari, 1975).

Bhushan (2003) observed that yoga is primarily a self-oriented, promotive science, which furthers integrated development of psychophysical and emotional aspects of individual and the evolution of consciousness. He also reports empirical findings to show how the yogic practices help in improving memory, creativity, self-confidence, and adjustment of adolescent school students. Rao (2003) has examined the nature of yogāsanas (body postures) in the context of increasing importance of bodywork in psychotherapy. As he notes *āsanas*, which are body manoeuvers, may give exercise to various tissues, organs, and organ systems of the body and provide an avenue to deal with character armours, attitudes, and tensions to bring about healthy changes in several psychopathological conditions.

Studies conducted on yoga are many and they vary in their objectives. Some researchers have conducted 'controlled experimental studies' to examine the effect of yoga techniques on certain psychological processes (Kumar et al., 1993; Mishra & Dube, 1999; Mohan, 1995; Mohan et al., 1996; Panjwani et al., 2000; Rani & Rao, 1994, 1996, 2000, 2005; Sridevi et al., 1995, 1998; Telles et al., 1995). Others have utilized them as 'intervention strategies' in a bid to promote health and well-being (Aminabhavi, 1996; Bhusan & Sinha, 2001; Geeta, 1998; Janakiramiah et al., 1998; Rao, 2003; Sachdeva, 1994; Sahajpal & Ralte, 2000; Sujatha, 1999; Triveni & Aminabhavi, 1999; Vempati & Telles, 1999; Verma, 1996–97). These researchers have focussed on the use of one or more of the procedures like *āsana, prānāyāma, dhārana, dhyāna, kriya, bandha*, and *mudra*. Primarily these activities involve regulation of breathing, assuming different postures and gestures, cleaning the bodily systems using water and cloth, manipulation of attention and concentration, and regulating thought-flow. In other words, it is an attempt at mastering one's psychophysiological processes with discipline and effort. *Yama* and *niyama* do not figure in these studies. An instrument to measure them as personality dispositions, consisting 10 sub-scales was developed (Kumar, 1993).

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:10 PM Page 113

Clinically oriented studies among the above-mentioned, have evaluated the outcome of yogic practices in relation to autonomic parameters like heart rate, blood pressure, respiration rate, rate of oxygen consumption, body weight, serum cholesterol, plasma prolactin, cortisal level, quality and amount of sleep, and such other physiological and biochemical indicators. Generally it is reported that these parameters show improvement in the physical health status and well-being of practitioners. In contrast, negative emotions like anxiety, depression, dysthymia, hostility, neuroticism, and stress have shown decrement.

One of the main problems in evaluating the therapeutic efficacy of yoga is the lack of commonality in the procedures followed. 'Yogic life style', 'Induced Yogic Relaxation Training', 'Yoga Nidra', 'Yoga Based Isometric Relaxation', 'Sudarshana Kriya', 'Yoga practice', and 'Yoga training' are some of the phrases used by different researchers, which involve one or more techniques. As almost all researchers report improvement in the health and well-being of the participants, it looks as if anything and everything of yoga seems to have a beneficial effect. It is difficult to assess precisely what are the core components or competencies of yoga that bring about such a result.

Most researchers seem to rest contented with demonstrating the therapeutic efficacy of yoga, without attempting to understand the mechanisms underlying the relation between the procedure/practice/technique and the neurochemical, neurophysiological, and psychological processes. Thus, it is difficult to reveal which techniques work with whom and when. In this matter, yoga instructors seem to have a better understanding from their practical experience with practitioners than researchers, and there is a need to develop theory-driven research designs to study the efficacy of yoga techniques.

Second problem is with regard to the minimum time one has to undergo training before one experiences a positive change. The duration of training, as reported by investigators, has ranged from a minimum of 15 days to a maximum of three months, and positive changes have been reported in all the studies. Hence, it is difficult to decide what the optimum duration is, for benefiting from yoga practice.

Michael West (1986), after reviewing hundreds of such research on psychophysiological aspects of meditation conducted in the Western context,[4] exclaimed in desperation as follows: 'Why has meditation therefore been practised for thousands of years in a variety of cultures and religious and philosophical context *if this is all* [reduction of anxiety, depression, stress, etc.][5] that it accomplishes' (p. 250).

Another trend in yoga practice and research is an overemphasis on practicing and defining meditation as technique, thereby focussing on the operational aspect without sufficient consideration for contextual aspects (Salagame, 2002). Many practitioners, particularly in the Western societies,

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:10 PM Page 114

use a single technique divorced from the comprehensive practices and disciplines in which it was traditionally embedded. For example, practicing āsana or prānāyāma without bothering about yama or niyama, or other aspects of ashtānga yoga. Though such techniques in themselves are beneficial, something vital will be lost in piecemeal approach (Walsh, 1999). What this remark indicates is that researchers miss the original purpose and significance of yoga, and there is a need to go back to its original context (Salagame, 2002).

Experimental studies on the effects of yoga practice have also progressed on similar lines involving different techniques and different duration of practice period (see Tripathi and Babu in Vol. 1). These studies also suffer from similar problems that are raised above, in the context of clinical studies. Only a few have addressed yoga truly from an indigenous perspective. Thus, there is a need to distinguish contemporary research on yoga conducted within the framework of modern psychology from what could be called 'yoga psychology'. Very few researchers have addressed the latter.

Yoga Psychology

Taimni (1961) emphasizes that the 'theory of the causes-of-affliction' is the foundation of Patanjali's system of *Ashtānga Yoga*. Feuerstein (1989a) observes, 'the yoga theory of the subconscious is one of the earliest models of depth psychology' (p. 179). This theory can be found in *śloka* 1 to 27, (see Feuerstein, 1989b), which delineate the psychopathology of human condition and explain how one should transcend and get liberated. There are a few researchers who have addressed yoga from depth psychology and therapeutic point of view (Banerjee, 1994a; Bhushan, 1996–97; Rao, 1995, 1998).

As Rao (1995) observes, the goal of all philosophies and spiritual techniques including *Yoga Sūtra* is to liberate oneself from suffering through psychophysiological discipline, knowledge, certain attitudes, and ways of life. Yoga can be blended with psychoanalytic and rational, emotive behaviour therapies or can be used as a part of an eclectic approach, provided that it does not involve any religion, deity, and so on, and only under the general framework of psychotherapy.

This broad framework should contain only clients' issues and needs, and should aim at the following: developing (a) a broader perspective of self and world; (b) self-discipline; (c) expanding one's awareness to control body, mind, and feelings; (d) emotions, thoughts, and behaviour; (e) developing responsibility, acceptance, congruence, and compassion; and (f) an attitude of witness to life with less ego involvement and more task orientation. Swami Rama's works and other books by the Himalayan International Institute of Yoga Science, USA, can provide a conceptual framework and a set of procedures for yoga therapy (Rao, 1998).

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:10 PM Page 115

Palsane (1998) has identified the following psychological benefits of yoga: (a) Yoga helps in developing impulse control, cultivation of an attitude of detachment, gaining control over excitation and its potential fall-out, leading to maintenance of neuropsychological balance. (b) Meditation is useful in clarifying goals and resolving internal conflicts. (c) Motivational and attitudinal orientations involved in prescription of Yamas and Niyamas are intended to take care of most of the stress-producing situations in life. (d) It provides a rational and empirical system of thought and living, and anything that causes disturbances can be examined in the light of yoga. (e) In yoga, like modern psychotherapies, de-emphasizing of ego involvement is emphasized for many abnormal conditions, anxieties, and stresses. (f) 'Freedom from bondage' in yoga signifies one's liberation from all kinds of fixations and attributes as well as continual feelings of freedom and knowledge.

Swami Niranjanananda Saraswathi (2001) discusses yoga as a life-long process in understanding the necessities of life, managing the human mind and potential, and transforming the personality. The practice of *āsanas* helps in the management of the body and physical health, leading to physical balance and harmony. *Pranāyāma, mudra*, and *bandha* channel the physical forces, providing the opportunity to deal with the mind and help in the development and shaping of personality at all stages.

Yoga has a long past. Swami Satyananda Saraswati (1997) estimated that yoga dates back to Tantric civilization that existed all over the world 10,000 years ago. Since then it has developed continuously up to modern period. During this long span of time, the word yoga has been used with different connotations (see Apte, 1970), and different forms of yoga have come into existence. Perhaps the earliest text, which deals with yoga in great detail, and provides a classification, is Bhagavad-Gita. We come across at least five different usages of the word yoga: (a) to designate 'a way of salvation or liberation', that is *yoga* as contrasted with *Sāmkhya*; (b) as a suffix to refer to the 'method or means', in *jñāna-yoga* (also called *buddhi-yoga*) and *karma-yoga*; (c) to mean 'action, effort, and discipline'; (d) to refer to a 'state of equanimity'; and (f) as a 'skillful action' (Edgerton, 1965; Rama, 1996). These different connotations have been utilized in Indian tradition in different texts and treatises, and thus the meaning of yoga is context-sensitive. Feuerstein (1989a) notes that no innovation has taken place in the past 200 years, except that of Sri Aurobindo's integral yoga.

Most contemporary researches have focussed more on the forms of yoga like Hatha yoga, Raja yoga, and Kundalini yoga, without bothering much about yoga as the end state, *samatvam, stitaprajnatva*. The ultimate concern of all forms of yoga is the end state, not the technique. What is common to all of them is that 'they are concerned with a state of being, or consciousness, that is truly extraordinary' (Feuerstein, 1989a, p. 11, which is *samādhi*). Further, Feuerstein notes that most yogins, like most people,

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:10 PM Page 116

'do not have an intellectual bent of mind. But yogins, unlike ordinary people, turn this into an advantage by cultivating wisdom and the kind of psychic and spiritual experiences that the rational mind tends to deny and block out'. Yet there are exceptions like Patanjali, Nāgārjuna, Vijnāna Bhikshu, and Shankara who were also brilliant intellects besides being adepts of yoga (ibid, p. 168). This point seems to have been missed by many researchers, because of inherent limitations of their perspective.

All forms of yoga are ways of developing consciousness, beyond the ordinary state. In contemporary terminology yoga induces 'altered states of consciousness' (Naranjo & Ornstein, 1971; Tart, 1969). The techniques of yoga may be considered as *awareness development technologies* that result in non-ordinary states of awareness, ultimately leading to transformation of consciousness. Thus, *yoga is psychology of consciousness development*. Patanjali's *Yoga Sūtra* delineates this process step-by-step, and hence it has been regarded as a practical manual for transformation of consciousness (Feuerstein, 1989b). Developing these ideas has implications for the understanding of the nature of human cognition and contemporary cognitive psychology. Researchers have not paid attention to the concept *yogi pratyaksha* (Sinha, 1958), which is a direct cognition unmediated by sensory apparatus. Similarly, the various stages of samādhi are not examined by Indian researchers, even though there have been a few by Western researchers (see Brown, 1986). Both Patanjali's *Yoga Sūtra* and Kundalini yoga can help develop yoga as psychology of consciousness. Sri Aurobindo's integral yoga is already such an attempt, which is being explored only recently by researchers (Joshi & Cornelissen, 2004).

Yoga can also be approached from a therapeutic point of view. Bhagavad-Gita, Patanjali's *Yoga Sūtra*, and Yoga Vāsishta are the three important texts on yoga, which have a common theme, that is overcoming the human suffering that occurs due to a fundamental ignorance of the true nature of one's identity or self. Primarily all the three elucidate how a false understanding of the nature of one's self is responsible for all the existential predicaments of human beings. Both Bhagavad-Gita and Yoga Vāsishta deal with this by directly keeping Arjuna and Sri Rama as the central characters involved in existential dilemmas, and expound how one could come out of them through yoga.

Patanjali's yoga can be considered as 'cognitive–psychodynamic–behavioural and transpersonal psychologies all rolled into one', at the same time. Some of the concepts like *samskāra, vāsana*, and *karmāshaya*, which are related to depth psychology aspects, need attention. Most contemporary researchers have not paid attention to these concepts probably because they are not amenable for measurement and also because of the underlying belief in reincarnation, which is considered unscientific. However, if one carefully examines the pioneering research work of Ian Stevenson (1997) on the cases of reincarnation memories of people from

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:11 PM Page 117

all over the world, the data seems to vindicate the notions of *karma*, *samskāra*, *vāsana*, etc., as expounded in Indian traditions.

Nishkāma Karma/Anāsakti Yoga of Bhagavad-Gita

Another line of investigation, which seems to have started with a true indigenous spirit, but not pursued further is the work on *Anāsakti yoga*. According to Edgerton (1965), often when Gita speaks of yoga it means 'a different kind of "disciplined activity", namely remaining in worldly life and doing one's duty, without selfish interest' (p. 39). It is *nishkāma-karma*, without expecting any fruits or rewards, with an attitude of non-attachment, *anāsakti*. These are elucidated in Chapters 3, 4, and 5 of Bhagavad-Gita. Chapter 4 speaks of 'knowledge of renouncing fruits', which is known as *anāsakti yoga*. It is the 'spiritual path that emphasizes performing one's actions without becoming attached to their fruits. It is an alternative path for those who do not choose to follow the path of renunciation' (Rama, 1996, p. 466).

Thapa (1983) has examined the meaning and implications of the concept *anāsakti*, particularly with the gross material phenomena and the outcomes of one's actions delineated in the Gita. She identified the dimensions of the concept, traced their linkages with current motivational concepts, and developed an instrument for assessing effort and outcome orientations as an individual difference variable The first major empirical work on *anasakti* was a doctoral research by Pande (1990) (see Naidu, 2002).

Pande and Naidu (1992) note that self-realization demands disengagement of consciousness from desires, as desires are directives of the sense that spring from the identification of self with the ego and its concerns of ambition, pride, attachment (*āsakti*), and insistence on mineness (*mamatva*). '*Anāsakti* means detachment of the spiritual principle, the basis of consciousness, from the body and the ego. *Anāsakti* or detachment is a means towards self-realization and is also an end state because a realized soul is spontaneously anāsakta or detached' (Naidu & Pande, 1992, p. 85). Gita delineates the characteristic attitudes, feelings, and actions of a *sthithaprajna* (a person of stable wisdom/self-realized person), who is regarded as an embodiment of *anāsakti* and practises *nishkāma karma* (desireless/motiveless action). The ideal of *anāsakti* embodies the principles of spiritualism as well as exhortations to pragmatism and action orientation (Pande & Naidu, 1992).

Authors have operationalized the concept *anāsakti* based on the descriptions of the attitudes and behaviour of a *sthithaprajna*, which also served as the source for the measure of *Anāsakti* (Naidu & Pande, 1999). They found that *anāsakti* or non-attachment was a health-promoting attitude. Another equally important psychological finding was the existence of individual differences in this variable, with a leptokurtic distribution of scores. While Pande and Naidu's studies revealed that *anāsakti* is a health-promoting attitude, Tewari (2000) and Tewari and Srivastava (1998) did

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:11 PM Page 118

not find any empirical support for it. There is a need to explore this construct further.

Kundalini Yoga

Kundalini yoga is an approach to self-transformation, which is based on the understanding that primordial energy is located in human beings and is in a dormant state, and it is possible to change its state from potential to kinetic through certain practices. Tradition has it that the awakened energy called *Kundalini Shakti*, progresses through a number of points, *chakras*, in the human being, which are being located in various points from the base of the spine to the crown. While modern anatomical methods cannot find them through laboratory dissection of the human body, many mystics vouch their experiential reality. The passage of awakened energy through different *chakras* is said to take a systematic course of ascendance from bottom to top, with definite physical, physiological, and psychological correlates.

Many investigators have tried to understand the relation of *chakras* to physiological processes and structures of the gross body. Roney-Dougal (1999) has considered the pineal gland as the physical locus of *ājnā chakra*, conceived in yogic tradition as being the psychic centre of our being. She explores the yogic idea of *ājnā chakra* as the command *chakra*, which regulates other *chakra* centres. She observes that there are multiple references to the importance of melatonin as the 'off switch' for the endocrine gland's output of hormones, working together with the pituitary gland, which is considered to be the 'on switch'. She suggests that the pineal gland is the physical aspect of *ājnā chakra*; the thyroid of *vishuddhi*, the breasts of *anāhatha*; the adrenals of *manipura*; and the gonads of *swādhistāna* and *mulādhāra*. These endocrine glands are all positioned at the different *chakras*, and their functions go very well with the traditional descriptions of the *chakra* functions. She, therefore, proposes that the endocrine system is the physiological aspect of the yogic spiritual tradition of the *chakras*, and that the autonomic nervous system can be equated with the yogic *nadis*.

This kind of reductionism is problematic. In Indian tradition, three types of body, namely *sthūla* (gross), *sūkshma* (subtle), and *kārana* (causal) are distinguished and *Kundalini shakti* is understood as primarily rooted in the latter two, with secondary manifestations in the first. Here again, many researchers ignore the indigenous perspectives on such phenomena and resort to reductionism. There is a necessity to examine the notions of three types of body, with reference to recent developments in the consciousness studies and in the notion of energy.

Siddha System and Dravidian Psychology

Siddha is popularly known in India mostly as an alternative to *Āyurveda* as a medical system, which basically shares the world view and metaphysics

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:11 PM Page 119

propounded in Samkhya. However, it is less known that *siddha system* is more comprehensive and is not just limited to the treatment of diseases. Dravidian psychology rooted in an antiquated system originated in southern India, the *Siddha system*, belonging to the *Saivite* tradition that touched its pinnacle during the *Sankha* period. The *Siddhas* are mystics. The grand doyen of this tradition was *Agasthya* followed by a galaxy of others among whom 18 *siddhas* constituting the *sangha* stand out as the pillars of this tradition and Dravidian culture (Saktidharan & Kumar, 2001).

The works of the *siddhas* can be classified under eight heads: *vātham* (chemical), *vaidikam* (sacrificial), *yogam* (spiritual), *jnānam* (scientific), *maruthwam* (medical), *mantram* (psychic), *ganitham* (astrological), and *marmam* (martial). As it is a highly integrated system, the basic terminology, concepts, and definitions are common to all. Out of these *yogam*, *mantram*, and *marmam* directly deal with psychological processes. *Maruthwam*, which is one of the most popular and successful applied branches gives a detailed description of mental disorders and also prescribes treatment procedures. They present a two-way interactive model of the mind-body relationship: many of the physical illnesses are accompanied by psychological symptoms and vice versa. The theory is built on 96 basic principles. The most outstanding contribution of *siddha* system is the comprehensive classification of psychotic disorders, referred to as *unmādam*, into 18 *kirikas*. They give precise definition, etiology, dynamics, symptoms, treatment, and exact prognosis of each one of them (Saktidharan & Kumar, 2001). There is a need to investigate this system with a view to explicate its fundamental tenets, principles and applications that may go well as Dravidian psychology.

Probabilistic Orientation

'Probabilistic orientation' is a construct derived from Dravidian literature by Narayanan (2001) and may be regarded as an aspect of Dravidian psychology. As Narayanan (2001) puts it: 'the summom bonum of the probabilistic orientation is the appreciation of the fact that the dynamic system of the universe is constantly unfolding itself adhering to stochastic principles and consequently, the individual events and contingencies of events remain unbiased and are not prejudiced in favour of or against any individual at any point of time…An individual who is given to the probabilistic orientation looks at all outcomes with equanimity' (p. 169). Neither the person with this orientation accept anything based on any compulsion or obsession due to his complexes resulting from his preconceived notions nor does he resist, nor does he attach any value-judgements regarding the outcome. According to Narayanan this characteristic is the sine qua non of highly evolved individuals.

Narayanan has conducted a series of studies on this construct since 1977 and has developed a scale—*Probabilistic Orientation Inventory*—to

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:11 PM Page 120

operationalize this personality construct (see Narayanan, 2001 for related references). The scale has seven empirically derived factors namely, unbounded expectancy, sensing unlimited possibilities, insight into bias, healthy scepticism, unconditional acceptance, appreciation of chance, and awareness of predictability. Researches have been conducted to examine this construct in relation to role conflict, mental health, security, death anxiety, alienation, social desirability, values, job burnout, sleep and fatigue, and many other variables. This construct also represents some of the characteristics of a *sthithaprajna* as described in Bhagavad-Gita.

Integral Psychology of Sri Aurobindo as an Emerging System

Indra Sen was the first to speak of Integral Psychology by publishing a book. Later Haridas Chaudhari, a disciple of Sri Aurobindo who went to the United States under the instruction of his master to spread the message, established Asian Institute of Integral Studies, in San Francisco. Now it is California Institute of Integral Studies. Haridas Chaudhari has been instrumental in the development of Integral Psychology, and Integral Psychology Counselling Programme first offered by Paul Harman. In recent years Shirazi (2001) has been actively working in developing Integral Psychology in the West. Wilber (2000) has also spoken about Integral Psychology inspired by Sri Aurobindo's thoughts, but he includes many other developments within Western psychology.

Integral vision of Sri Aurobindo not only emphasizes on individual evolution of consciousness, but also emphasizes on the evolution of consciousness at a collective- and cosmic level. Sri Aurobindo's vision of psychology is that it is 'the knowledge of consciousness and its operations' and a 'complete psychology cannot be a pure natural science but must be a compound of science and metaphysical enquiry'(Sri Aurobindo, 1994, pp. 321–22).

Cornelissen (2003, 2004) presents Sri Aurobindo's evolutionary conceptualization of consciousness. He has briefly indicated the '*inner gestures*' that can help a person to tread the path towards the ultimate transformation of consciousness and being, which Sri Aurobindo has proposed. According to Sri Aurobindo, among the seven layers of consciousness that the Veda distinguishes, the first three have already been manifested as matter, life and mind, as part of the biological evolution. The fourth layer, *vijnānamaya* layer, is a fundamentally gnostic type of consciousness and it has not yet been manifested so far. Sri Aurobindo designates it as supermind. In this type of consciousness, joy of multiplicity and joy of oneness are together; and one is fully and *in every part of one's being* aware of one's oneness with the absolute in all its aspects—transcendent, cosmic, and individual.

Drawing the implications of such a view of consciousness on human life and its long-term direction, Cornelissen (2003, 2004) observes that it affects every aspect of psychology. He notes that it goes together with a

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:11 PM Page 121

completely different perspective on the self, on the nature of the personality, on human aims and motivations, on volition and emotion, and on every aspect of cognition. It also offers a fundamentally different view of human knowledge that has far-reaching implications for the development and evaluation of different methodologies for psychological enquiry. Such a perspective would lead entirely to different approaches to psychological change in applied areas like education, therapy, management, and so on.

Gupta (2004) has explored Sri Aurobindo's theory of human development. She observes that Sri Aurobindo's 'evolutionary perspective' looks at human development from a wider perspective, which locates the evolving individual and society within an evolving cosmos. The evolving consciousness has as its goal, the attainment of individual and collective perfection within the cosmic reality. The major assumptions of Sri Aurobindo's developmental perspective are as follows: (a) Evolution is progressive and meaningful. (b) The process of unfolding is divinely guided and is based on the twin principles of involution and evolution. (c) The human being is not the finished product of the evolutionary process. (d) A further process of evolution requires a radical transformation of the human being based on a conscious collaboration with the divine. (e) There is a possibility of the attainment of perfection by the individual and the collective here on the earth. (f) Integral yoga is the practical and applied psychological method of moving from the mental to the supramental stage of evolution. Sri Aurobindo's viewpoint goes beyond the relational-developmental framework and perceives the possibility of further evolution through a radical transformation beyond the mental consciousness towards the supramental consciousness, which implies emergence of new race or species. Narayanan (2004) has reported an intervention study for 29 cancer patients through Integral Psychotherapy. She makes use of Sri Aurobindo's theory of psychic being and levels of mind as a framework for diagnosis, and to develop a package of intervention techniques. The major tasks of integral psychotherapeutic intervention are as shown in Box 2.3.

Box 2.3: Major Tasks of Integral Psychotherapy

(a) To restore order among the parts of the being by moderating the inherent disturbances of the various parts.
(b) To facilitate the positive influence of the inner personality to pervade the entire being.
(c) The most significant ingredient of the intervention is to help the client understand his/her nature, its various parts, and their relation to one another.
(d) The intervention provides the client with the knowledge of the source of the problems confronting him/her.
(e) Facilitates adopting an appropriate attitude to deal with them.
(f) Also provides techniques that he or she could practice to get relief from them in a systematic manner.

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:11 PM Page 122

The most significant feature that distinguishes integral, psychotherapeutic intervention is the insight of the presence of the psychic being. This insight introduces an element of spirituality into the practice. When a belief in an evolutionary unfolding of nature determining the contextual characteristics of the problems is coupled with the spiritual conviction, it evokes a unique style of response in individuals confronted with different problems. The above model of psychotherapy requires further work and verification, and it is essentially, heuristic in nature.

Mukhopadhyay and Roy (2004) have proposed a new vision of organizational change in rural bank development based on Sri Aurobindo's view of spiritual transformation. Their study aimed at determining the relative importance of organizational, spiritual health variables in predicting differences between high- and low job-satisfied groups. Data collected on 219 employees of different types of banks with an organization's spiritual-health perception scale that was developed for the purpose, showed that out of the five variables, perception of organizational openness was found to be the best predictor followed by the work as worship and social welfare. They note that when there is a change in the goal of organization from materialistic to spiritual orientation, employees experience a change from a self with boundaries to a boundary-less self. They termed this as spiritual transformation of the human self.

Sri Aurobindo spoke about the different 'levels of mind' in modern times, which seem to justify the idea of levels of cognitive development beyond Piaget, though Sri Aurobindo's concept of level of mind is much more broader and encompasses many other aspects. Marwaha (1994) has presented a synthesis of current viewpoints regarding human psyche and its optimal development, suggesting an amalgamation of Eastern and Western psychology. Traits developed during the eight hierarchical stages of consciousness (sub-mental level, the mind, the higher mind, the illumined mind, intuition, the over-mind, the super mind, and the gnostic being) are outlined. Suggestions made for transforming human beings into gnostic beings include the teachings of Patanjali and Sri Aurobindo, and the systems of koshas and that of the seven *chakras*.

Integrative Psychology

Mathew (1999, 2001a, b, 2004) has attempted to develop an 'integrative psychology', which is humanistically oriented and combines modern psychology with parapsychology, psychology of consciousness, as well as ancient oriental psychology. He does not favour a 'narrow chauvinistic "Indian" Psychology containing only ancient Indian elements, totally shutting out any external element or precluding the possibility of further development'. (2004, p. 255). The attempt is to integrate the best ideas, from Western and Indian thought, which are complementary to arrive at

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:11 PM Page 123

a holistic conception of human nature, and it also represents a naturalistic, humanistic, and holistic approach to psychology. Integrative psychology is defined as the 'study of consciousness, mind, and behaviour'. It accommodates different theories and methods appropriately in relation to the level of understanding. 'At the level of overt physical manifestations of behaviour, the analytic, mechanistic methods have more relevance, but at the root levels more meaningful results can be obtained by emphasizing the holistic, intuitive and synthetic methods' (p. 255).

Mathew (2001b) has provided a model of consciousness and its transformation based on the concept of triguna and the traditional *Sree Chakra*, which delineates his integral approach to growth. In brief, this model termed as 'Poorna Chakra' by the author, delineates in 13 successive phases the formation and dissolution of mind, including both the materialization phase and the spiritualization phase. According to Mathew, mind is formed as a result of the formation of the three *gunas* and gradual dissolution of them through personality change results in pure consciousness. In terms of *guna*, it involves reduction of tamas (inertia) and rajas (activation) and that leads to increased sattva (stability), which is greater awareness. This awareness is awareness of one's total self (pure consciousness) and its transformation across all the different planes. *Sree Chakra* is a model of this awareness. Mathew's integrative psychology holds potential for further research particularly regarding the processes of formation and dissolution.

Development of Specific Concepts

Most of the published literatures belong here, and authors have attempted to explicate ideas related to a wide-ranging set of topics. Among them, the concepts related to consciousness, mind, self, and personality have drawn the attention of researchers most.

Jiva

In particular, Paranjpe (1995, 1998a, b, c) has dealt with an Indian perspective on self and identity in depth and in all its ramifications. An important milestone in this direction is his *Self and Identity in Modern Psychology and Indian Thought* (Paranjpe, 1998b). It attempts to delineate the Indian thought and then seeks to show its uniqueness and also identifies convergence with Western traditions. Paranjpe examines exhaustively the ontological and epistemological issues governing contemporary psychology and juxtaposes the Indian traditional perspectives, thereby setting a stage for the discussion on self and identity. Then he discusses the themes in Western and Indian views. Paranjpe then goes on to compare Advaita Vedāntic and Eriksonian perspectives. Then he delineates self-*as-knower, enjoyer, sufferer*, and *as-agent*. Finally he discusses their relation from Platonic and Advaita Vedāntic perspectives on levels of reality. The most

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:11 PM Page 124

important aspect of Indian thought is that it is primarily first-person account of all experiences, which may develop into knowledge. Hence, self/subject is the focus unlike modern science for which the other/object is the focus for the pursuit of knowledge. Paranjpe has brought out this focus very well.

Paranjpe (2004b) notes that the term *jiva*, which literally means a living being has been used in the tradition as a technical term to refer to a human individual. Upanishads characterize *jiv*a as *jnāta*, *bhokta*, and *karta*, that is, as one who knows, feels pleasure and pain, and acts. Exactly in this sense the Western concept of person is available since ancient Greek period. Therefore this 'trilogy of mind' (Hilgard), namely cognition, affect, and conation provides the common ground to bridge Indian and Western psychologies. These three mental processes—thinking, feeling, and willing must work together and be treated holistically. However in contemporary psychology, they have been treated separately leading to fractionation of personhood. Paranjpe (2004b) considers *jiva, svabhāva* and *prakrti, ahamkāra*, and *Ātman* and *Puruśa* as the most important concepts related to personality and self, which can help in developing indigenous personality theories. He regards yoga and *Advaita Vedanta* as ways of personality development and self-realization.

Dash and Rout (2002) note that according to Indian psychology, human personality is not the accidental offshoot of an unconscious, evolving nature; but has its roots in an absolute, self-existent consciousness. Useful overview of different Indian concepts of personality can be found in Krishnan (2002), Dwivedi (2002), and Dash and Rout (2002). Dash and Rout have discussed the perspectives on personality available in Vedānta, Yoga, Buddhism, Jainism, Nyāya, Kāma Sūtra, Jyotisa, and Āyurveda.

Cit and caitanya

Cit, caitanya, prajna, and *samvit* are some of the terms used to refer consciousness. In Indian thought, consciousness is treated as independent of mind and matter (exception being the Carvaka School). *Manas* is regarded as subtle matter being constituted of the same fundamental components, *triguna* (see next section '*Triguna*' for details), which constitutes gross matter also. Thus, the Indian world view itself is different and hence, the primary focus of all discussions in the Indian tradition is consciousness, *cit*, not mind-matter.

Notion of pure consciousness—*shuddhacaitanya*—is an integral aspect of all the schools of Indian thought, even though non-dualist and dualist perspectives differ in their emphasis on the primacy of consciousness and in their accounts of the relationship between consciousness and the material universe. *Caitanya* has two aspects namely, awareness and energy. The notion of pure consciousness in Indian tradition reverses the figure-ground relation with respect to our understanding of states of consciousness.

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:11 PM Page 125

Rao (1997, 2004) observes that while the Western perspective focussed on the 'phenomenal manifestations of consciousness', the Eastern traditions paid special attention to the 'transcendental aspects of consciousness'. Hence the study of the Eastern perspective is complementary to the Western if the goal is to achieve a fuller grasp of consciousness and 'its role in our being' (Rao, 1997). He has listed some of the implications of these differences (see Box 2.4).

Box 2.4: Implications of the Differences Between Eastern and Western Perspectives

(1) Consciousness and mind are not synonymous. (2) Consciousness cannot be restricted to focal attention or reflective awareness. (3) Consciousness cannot be regarded as an aspect of brain function and as a quality of experience generated by cortical activity. (4) In the broader sense, consciousness as awareness, includes explicit and implicit awareness. Hence, no fundamental distinction between the consciousness and the unconsciousness can be sustained, as it is spurious. (5) Consciousness is that which makes awareness experience possible in human condition. (6) Mind is an interface between consciousness and the brain, which is made possible by certain characteristics of the mind that are akin to consciousness, e.g., *sattva guna*. (7) Consciousness in its pure form is conceived to be autonomous, transcendental, and formless. (8) Consciousness as such is transcendental, but conscious experience is phenomenal. (9) Transcendental conscious states are states of *realization* and not mere *experience*; in the former, knowing and being are inseparable and will have remarkable impact on one's life. (10) Question of whether consciousness as such really exists cannot be settled on mere theoretical grounds.

In fact, as Peters (1998) notes 'at the heart of traditional Indian psychologies lies the notion that it is possible to intensify the separability between the state of conscious awareness and the flow of sensory/ ideational content' and a condition of 'lucid awareness transcending the ordinary plane of existence' occurs when this differentiation is developed to its maximum (p. 1). Only recently lucidity has been recognized as a psychological reality. This was ignored within the circles of behaviourist psychology and denied by psychoanalytic orthodoxy. Neurological studies moreover, are beginning to unravel the basis for this capacity in the functional architecture of the brain.

Some attempts have been made to attend to the various aspects of consciousness. For instance, Balodhi (1993) has examined the problem of dream perception (DP). The methods used to explain DPs are categorized as logical (philosophical), analytical (psychological), and physical (physiological) determinism. He has demonstrated how Western philosophical notions in DPs support the Indian thought. Others have brought out the

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:11 PM Page 126

related views on consciousness available in different Indian systems and traditions (Cornelissen, 2004; Jitātmānanda, 2004; Joshi, 2004; Marwaha, 1994; Misra, 2004; Mukhopadhyay & Renukadevi, 2004; Pradhan, 2004; Singh, 2004; Vaidya, 2004; Veezinathan, 2004).

Singh (2004) has attempted to understand the nature of the state of consciousness in which mantras descended upon the seers that came to be regarded as *Veda*. He finds an answer in *Taittiriya Aranyaka*—'*Tapas* is the device of purification and elevation of consciousness up to its highest possibility' (p. 91). He has traced this process of purification and elevation with the help of internal evidence available in Vedic symbolism.

Triguna

Next to cit and caitanya, *triguna* is the most important concept in Indian tradition because all phenomenal experiences, be it in the state of waking or dreaming are explained in terms of three *gunas*. The concept of *guna* dates back to Atharva Veda, it was discussed extensively in Bhagavad-Gita, and was later incorporated into Sāmkhya darāana. Some modern psychologists have utilized *triguna* concept to understand human personality and behaviour. They have conceptualized *Guna* (a) as aspects of human temperament and personality (Boss, 1966; Marutham et al., 1998; Parameshwaran, 1969; (b) as dimensions of personality (Uma et al., 1971); (b) as fundamental components of mind (Kulkarni, 1972); (c) as levels of consciousness (Pathak et al., 1992; Sitamma et al., 1995); (d) as behavioural tendencies (Mathew, 1995); (e) as types of personality (Das, 1987; Misra et al., 2000; Mohan & Sandhu, 1986; Wolf, 1998); and (f) as fundamental characters (Rao, 1997). There have been many attempts to develop a personality measure using *gunas* (Das, 1987, 1991; Kapur et al., 1997; Marutham et al., 1998; Mathew, 1995; Mohan & Sandhu, 1986, 1988; Pathak et al., 1992; Singh, 1971; Uma et al., 1971; Wolf, 1998), which utilize one or more of the conceptualizations. Many investigators have used these measures in research (see chapters on 'Cognitive Process, Organizational Behaviour and Personality' for details). Most of the studies are of an exploratory nature and most of them have attempted to examine the correlates of three *gunas* with personality measures of modern psychology.

There are many issues regarding the conceptualizations and behavioural manifestations of *guna*s. One of them is the lack of consensus regarding what constitutes *guna*. In a critical review of the concept, *guna* Murthy and Salagame (2004) have noted that the three *guna*s encompass affect, cognition, and conation (see Table 2.1).

Further, the publications show that (Table 2.2) each investigator emphasizes certain facets and behavioural manifestations of *sattva, rajas, and tamas* (Murthy and Salagame, 2004).

The problems in the proper understanding of these concepts are many. Some questions that arise out of doubt are—why are there only three

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:11 PM Page 127

Table 2.1: Aspects of *Triguna* as Found in the Traditional Texts

Sattva	*Rajas*	*Tamas*
priti	*apriti*	*visāda*
pleasure/satisfaction	disagreement/enmity/aversion	despair/disgust/lassitude
sukha	*dukha*	*moha*
pleasant/happiness/agreeable	unpleasant/pain/suffering	bewilderment/delusion/ perplexity
prakasha	*pravrtti*	*niyama*
shining/manifesting/illuminating	activity	restraint/limit/annihilated
laghu	*cala*	*guru*
light/buoyant/easy	moving/disturbed/confused	heavy
istam/adhyavasya	*upastambaka*	*varnaka*
existing/dwell	stimulating	resisting/restraining

*guna*s?, why and how are the three *guna*s, ultimate substances that constitute both matter and mind?, and how are they considered as feeling entities?, and have been dealt with by philosophers like Hiriyanna (1932) and Dasgupta (1922), which need further attention and investigation.

Second problem is regarding the relative importance accorded to the three gunas and how they are conceptualized. Invariably all *negative* qualities are attributed to *tamas* and all *positive* qualities are attributed to *sattva*. In Indian tradition, developing *sattvik* qualities is upheld as an ideal and it is viewed as an indication of progress in human evolution. A *sattvik* person is understood as one who is spiritual in thought, word, and deed; healthy; and has a better sense of well-being. By contrast, *rajasik* and *tamasik* qualities have been increasingly viewed negatively and associated with ill-health and ill-being. Hence, almost all investigators have conceptualized *rajasik* and *tamasik* qualities with negative connotation.

However, it is to be noted that both in animate and in inanimate beings all three—*sattvik, rajasik*, and *tamasik*—qualities are present and that *rajas* and *tamas* have their own significance in nature's scheme. They serve their own purpose and they are not negative in themselves, if understood in their etymological sense as already noted. For example, *niyama* (restraint/limit/annihilating) and *varnaka* (resisting/restraining), which are aspects of *tamas* as mentioned earlier are very important to maintain earth's position in solar system, for its rotation on its axis and for gravitational force along with *rajas* (*cala/pravrtti*—movement/activity) and *sattva* (*laghu*—not heavy).

Thus, if we understand a person as another dynamic configuration of three *guna*s in the universe, no different from all other entities, and participating in a cosmic design, then the *guna* approach to human behaviour requires a broader framework. Tradition emphasizes that each person has all the three aspects in various proportions although one of them is preponderant. This leads to individual differences and personality patterns with different proportional combinations. They all serve a person's

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:11 PM Page 128

Table 2.2: The Diversity in Emphasizing the Aspects of *Triguna* Among Investigators

Author and year	*Sattva*	*Rajas*	*Tamas*
Misra et al., 2000	Austerity, wisdom, determination, dutifulness, perseverance, freedom from fear, pride and anger, truth, righteousness, consistency, nonviolence, steadiness, love for knowledge	Passion, wrath, lust, anger, greed, desires, thirst for power and wealth, deceit, insolence, ignorance, conceit	Distortion, delusion, indolence, despondency, procrastination, confusion, ignorance, sleep, dullness, inertia, negligence
Sharma, 1999	Unaffected by failures or success, non-egoistic, belief in values	Egoism, aggresivity, active, high motivation	Laziness, vulgarity, unsteadiness, immorality, harmfulness, destruction
Wolf, 1998	Cleanliness, truth, discipline, mental equilibrium, determination, detachment, etc.	Desire for sense gratification, envy, dissatisfaction, materialistic mentality	Mental imbalance, anger, arrogance, depression, procrastination, feelings of helplessness
Sitamma et al., 1995	Purity, noble qualities, wisdom, love of knowledge, spiritual excellence	Rise in passion, emotions, and desires	Ignorance, idleness, errors, and delusions
Uma, 1969	Self-control, generosity, faith, steadiness, intelligence, humility, guiltlessness, purity, unselfishness, contentment, truthfulness, devotion, yearning for liberation	Lack of control on emotions, passionate, restlessness, anxiety, desires, attachments, greed	Stupidity, doubt, dullness, inadvertence, uncertainty, negligence, cynicism, delusions, fear, inactions, misunderstanding, sorrow, lassitude, undisciplined

functioning. Which aspect is negative and which one is positive depends on the context and is also based on the values attached. Therefore, it is essential to examine a combination of traits related to the three *gunas*, in understanding a person rather than emphasizing one or the other. Existing approaches to measurement of *guna* have not considered the idea of providing a profile using all the three. Exception to this is Matthew (1995, 2001b). Further, there are other issues like whether the three *gunas* are stable traits, how they change, under what circumstances, are they related to developmental phases, and so on. These are potential areas of research on this concept.

Manas/chitta

From *triguna* we come to *manas*, which is the generic term for mind. According to Indian tradition, all *mano vrtti* (mental functions) and *mano pravrtti* (mental process) are nothing but the manifestations of the activities of *triguna*, with predominance of *sattva*. *Mano dharma* is used to refer to the unique propensities of an individual. But Patanjali uses the term *chitta*

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:11 PM Page 129

and *chitta vrtti* to refer to mind and all types of mental activities and functions that are recognized in modern psychology and also those recognized in Indian tradition. They give equal importance to rational and nonrational mental processes. Intuitive cognition as well as the paranormal experiences are very much accepted (Sinha, 1958).

There are a host of specific concepts related to mind and its activities (for details see Chennakeshavan, 1980; Sinha, 1958, 1961, 1968) that require clarification, elaboration, and operationalization that can lead to Indian theory of mind. Psychologists have not paid much attention to investigate them.

Four recent theoretical papers that present synoptic views of Indian conceptions of mind include Venkoba Rao (2002a, b), Srinivasan and Mohan (2004), and of Wood (2004). Rao has discussed the concept of mind in *Āyurveda* and the place of mind in the six systems of Indian philosophies, Vedas, Upanishads, Gita, and in the Nāstika school of Carvaaka, with special reference to issues in psychiatry. Srinivasan and Mohan (2004) have made a survey of the concept of mind in different *darśanas*. Wood (2004) has attempted to elucidate the concepts of mind within the Indian world view.

To facilitate the discussion and development of ideas further, the important aspects of the nature and characteristics of mind or psyche that are delineated in various traditional texts can be summarized as follows: (a) Mind is dominated by *sattva guna*, the principle of illumination. As corporeal body is also constituted of the same three *gunas*, but predominated by *tamo guna*, principle of inertia, the mind is considered as subtle (*sūkshma*) matter and the latter as gross (sthūla) matter. Thus, body and mind form a continuum. (b) This distinction has lead to the concept *sthūla sharira* (gross body) and *sūkshma sharira* (subtle body) in Upanishads, and *sūkshma sharira* is regarded as psyche. This *sūkshma sharira* has the capacity to be independent of *sthūla sharira*, and hence, corporeal body does not bind it. (c) This freedom of *sūkshma sharira* leads to another characteristic of mind, all pervasiveness (*vibhu*). (d) Indian traditions in general, attribute all mental activities and phenomenal experiences to *sūkshma sharira*, and the physical sensory apparatus are regarded as sockets. Hence, physical sensory apparatus are considered essential, but not necessary for perception. (e) Similarly, all motor activities are also functions of *sūkshma sharira*, and the physical motor apparatus are of a mechanical nature. Hence paranormal phenomena, which involve going beyond space—time dichotomy, like clairvoyance; clairaudience, psychokinesis, telepathy, and so on, is not very mysterious and is accountable.

Antahkarana

In the Indian tradition, the concept *manas, buddhi*, and *ahamkāra* are together referred to as *antahkarana*, which scholars translate as 'internal organ' or 'internal equipment'. Here *manas* is used in a limited sense as

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:11 PM Page 130

that function, which in relation to sensory and motor organs receives impulses, and then presents to *buddhi* that discriminates, judges, determines, decides, and so on, and later *ahamkāra* appropriates the experience to self. This is equivalent to psychodynamic notion of internal psychical apparatus, but is not limited to what psychoanalysts recognize as its functions. Both Sāmkhya and Vedānta traditions regard *antahkarana* as aspects of *sōkshma sharīra* or *linga deha* (subtle body). The traditions differ in their enumeration of the constituents of *sōkshma sharīra* and in understanding their nature. Vijnānabhikshu and Aniruddha regard *buddhi* as the chief ingredient of the subtle body because it is the primary organ of the experience of pleasure and pain. Due to ontological differences Sāmkhya posits that *antahkarana* is derivative of *Prakrti*, whereas Advaita Vedānta posits that it is just a manifestation of that one consciousness, *Brahman*. According to Sāmkhya *buddhi*, *ahamkāra*, and *manas* are one in nature. They are not to be regarded as three different and independent faculties or substances, but only as three grades of functions. The three are successive functional modifications of one and the same *antahkarana*, and the three synthesize the impressions received from external objects in three stages namely, *manana* (reflection), which is *manas; abhimāna* (self-apperception), which is *ahamkāra*; and *adhyavasāya* (determination), which is *buddhi* (Salagame, 2001b).

Ahamkāra

In Indian traditions, notions of self and identity are understood in transcendental, empirical, and psychological categories. *Ātman, Purusha, Jiva, Dehi, Ksetrajña, Ahamkāra, Ahambhāva, Asmita, Jñāta, Bhokta*, and *Karta* are used in different contexts with specific meaning and significance, to refer to self and identity. The transcendental self, *ātman*, is distinguished from empirical self, *jiva*, and the psychological sense of 'I am' experience, which is known as *Ahamkāra*. Many investigators have addressed these concepts (Auluck, 2002b; Banerjee, 1994a; Bhattacharya, 1993; Dhawan et al., 1995; Naidu, 1994; Raj, 1993; Saksena and Sen, 1998; Salagame et al., 2005; Salagame & Raj, 1999; Y. Sinha, 1994). Banerjee (1994a) presents a comparative study of two concepts—nescience/ignorance (*avidya*) and egoism (*ahamkāra*) as found in the Sāmkhya-yoga systems and psychoanalysis. It is noted that ignorance and egoism produce bondage with their concomitant consequences, sorrow, and suffering.

An attempt to operationalize the concept *ahamkāra* was initiated by Kiran Kumar, and a series of studies was conducted in the Department of Psychology, University of Mysore in his supervision by Raj (1993), Gaur (1994), Rekha (1995), Murthy (1999), and Parimala (2001) for master's dissertation,[6] the findings of which are reported (Kumar & Raj, 1999; Kumar et al., 2005). In these studies, two questionnaires namely, Ahamkāra questionnaire and ego-functions questionnaire, were developed, and data

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:11 PM Page 131

were collected on different samples. Different versions with changes in number of items and scoring categories were tried. Finally an 18-item version of Ahamkāra questionnaire was found to be highly reliable and valid. Factorial validity was established. The major findings of all the studies are summarized below.

Initially, four components of *ahamkāra* were identified from traditional texts—namely, agency (*kartrtva*), identification (*samga*), individuality (*vaishishtya*), and separation (*anyata bhava*), which constituted four subscales. The empirical findings have shown that (a) Ego-function emerged as the first factor accounting for maximum variance, which means that people differ more with respect to ego-functions than *ahamkāra*. (b) *Ahamkāra* is factorially a different construct than ego-functions, and the latter seems to be conceptually more similar to *buddhi*. (c) There are indications that identification component of *ahamkāra* as measured in these studies in terms of one's associations (*sanga*), attachments (*mamkāra*), and attractions (*moha*) may represent the most important aspect of *abhimāna*, and thus validates the theoretical analysis of ancient seers and sages with regard to the essence of *ahamkāra*. (d) The concept of *abhimāna* and identification as measured here, seem to be similar to Otto Kernberg's concept of internalization in his synthesized model of object relations theory and Freudian instinctual theory. The process of internalization has three levels: introjection, identification, and ego-identity, which are progressively more conscious in operation (St. Clair, 1986). *Abhimāna* seems to encompass all the three levels. (e) The factors, separation and individuality of *ahamkāra* also seem to be conceptually nearer to Margaret Mahler's concepts of separation and individuation (Salagame et al., 2005).

The concept *ahamkāra with its components delineated here seem to be parsimonious* and can serve as a metaconstruct, which can embrace many of the modern psychological concepts related to self and identity, such as locus of control, self-efficacy, self-esteem, individuality, relational self, individualism–collectivism, ego-boundary, autonomy, and many more. The concept has implications for psychopathology and psychotherapy. It is possible to speculate that certain mental problems, particularly of neurotic kind and personality disorders, as manifestations of under- or overemphasis of one or the other component of *ah**a**mkāra*. On the healthy side is the emphasis on *vaishishtya* individuality, which is required for self-actualization (Salagame et al., 2005).

However, from Indian psychological point of view, experiencing any of the above four components in a greater degree is dangerous. All of them reinforce one's bio-psychosocial identity. While modern psychotherapeutic methods emphasize their development from the Indian point of view, involvement in all of them is to be refrained from. Hence, the *rishis* advocate detachment in all of them. Only then, one can experience the true identity. Looked at from this perspective, modern psychological attempt

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:11 PM Page 132

is to increase *abhimāna*, and thus *ahamkāra* in the name of therapy and growth. While it is necessary to some extent for normal functioning, it cannot be the *ideal of growth from Indian point of view*. Here is the difference between growth and self-actualization of modern psychology and self-realization of Indian psychology (Salagame et al., 2005).

Rasa and Bhava

Menon (2000) has argued that while it is essential to distinguish between emotions and body feelings, it is equally important that emotion researchers recognize that emotions are grounded in a person's physical body. This aspect requires further investigation, which is the key for understanding mind–matter continuum. Also if feeling is the earliest indicator of consciousness, and also constitutes mind–matter, then feeling is everything, and it opens up a new world view.

Researchers have attempted to understand the Indian perspective on emotion, and they have particularly examined the Indian theory of aesthetic experience (*rasa*) propounded by Bharata in *Nātyashāstra*, and developed further by commentators Lollata, Abhinavagupta, Sankuka, Ānandavardhana, Bhattanāyaka, Mammata, Dhananjaya, and others as the source denotes (Jain, 1994, 2002; Misra, 2004; Paranjpe & Bhatt, 1997). *Rasa* theory has been the sheet anchor of Indian traditions of dance and drama till date. The value of *rasa* theory for psychology lies in its systematic exposition of the analysis of the subjective experience of different emotions and 'causes' of emotions, in the context of dramatics with implications for everyday behaviour. Indian approach to emotion also recognizes the basically animal nature of human beings, but it differs in its emphasis on the distinctly human features: cognitive, aesthetic, moral, and spiritual.

Rasa theory discusses the ways and means of producing nine different types of *rasānubhavas* (aesthetic experience)—*sringāra* (love), *hāsya* (comic), *karuna* (pathos), *raudra* (furious), *vira* (heroic), *bhayānaka* (horror), *bibhatsa* (odious), *adbhuta* (marvellous), and *Shānta* (tranquil)—in the spectators. Bharata made a tripartite distinction between *bhāva*, *vibhāva*, and *anubhāva*, as follows: (a) *Bhāva* refers to basic human emotions, which are *chitta vrttis*—mental modes—present in human beings in varying intensities according to their *samskāra*. They are innate tendencies or propensities. They get activated and strengthened. (b) *Vibhāva* are factors responsible for producing (*udbuddha*) and furthering (*vardhana*) of *bhāva*. (c) Finally, they get expressed, which is called *anubhāva* (Sharma, 1964). *Nātyashāstra* has given due importance to both inherent tendencies and the environmental factors, in the experience and expression of emotions.

An important issue relates to the question related to locus of emotional experience. Paranjpe and Bhatt (1997) stated, 'Whose emotions are they? The Characters', Actors', or Spectators'?' *Alankārikas* (aestheticians) have debated this issue and the outcome of it is that 'aesthetic experience

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:11 PM Page 133

cannot be reasonably assumed to be the experience of either the character, or the actor, or of the spectator' (p. 136). Abhinavagupta and Bhattanayaka suggest that the feeling and emotions produced in the context of art is a generalized feeling, and not of any particular person. The 'emotion expressed in art is detached from the context of time and place, and thus is truly generalized. The explanation of aesthetic moods in terms of generalized emotion stands in sharp contrast to the tendencies in Western psychology to reduce emotions to bodily state; and to locate affective experience exclusively in individual egos' (ibid, p. 136).

Paranjpe and Bhatt (1997) also note that *rasa* theorists were well aware that inference plays an important role in the experience of aesthetic feelings, because the context of aesthetic experience (drama) is artificial as there are no real emotions resulting from real causes. In Paranjpe's opinion, Indian thinkers' recognition of the power-of-the-art experience to rise above egoistic concerns is an important aspect of some of the most dominant values of the Indian cultures. We find this aspect elaborated in great detail from the perspective of consciousness by Veezinathan (2004).

Misra (2004) has developed a conceptual model based on the *rasa* theory. According to this, *rasānubhāva* happens when *sthāyi bhāvas* are excited in the mind of the spectator by the acting of an actor. 'In this process determinant or exciting causes (*vibhāva*), and ensuing action tendencies (*anubhāva*) and accessory emotions (*vyabhicāri bhāva*) existing in the actors who try to simulate them by their *abhinaya* skill. It excites *sthāyibhāva* in the spectator that leads to *rasa*…In this way somatic, affective, perceptual, social and self-related processes are involved in it. This transports a person out of his self. It is an extraordinary experience free from the consciousness of self and other, and devoid of all distinctions of space, time, etc' (p. 323). Same set of transitory emotions works as exciters of some emotions and consequences for some. They can act independently or in a dependent manner. These *vyabhicāri bhāvas* have a life-cycle. They emerge, subside, blend, and show friction (Misra, 2004). We see here that Bharata had preceded Speilberger several centuries ago, by drawing the distinction between *sthāyi bhāva* and *sanchāri* or *vyabhicāri bhāva*.

Misra (2004) has characterized *vibhava* as determinants and eliciting causes. They include all the background information, settings, events, and action tendencies that might make manifest some state of the world and one's relationship to it. They produce rasa and make them relishable. *Vibhava* are of two types—namely, *ālambana* and *uddipana*. *Ālambana* is the primary activating factor. For example, for a man presence of a woman is the primary activating factor of erotic feeling and vice versa. A garden, moonlight, and spring serve as strengthening factors of erotic feeling—*uddipana* (Sharma, 1964).

Anubhāva refers to the overt expression of emotions, which can be verbal, physical, and physiological. The physiological expressions are called

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:11 PM Page 134

Box 2.5: Eight *Sāttvika Bhāvas*

Sthambha (growing paralytic and losing strength in the limbs as in a state of shock), *pralaya* (swoon), *romancha* (bristling of hairs), *sweda* (sweating), *vepathu* (trembling), *ashru* (tears), *vaivarnyam* (growing pale) and *svarabhanga* (break in the voice).

sāttvika bhāva and they are eight in number (see Box 2.5). Misra (2004) has termed *sāttvika bhāva* as organic manifestations of emotions, because they express through bodily functions.

Although they are physiological reactions, yet they are called *sāttvika bhāva* because they are manifestations of *chitta vrtti*, mental mode, and here *chitta vrtti* itself is to be understood as *sāttvika bhāva*. For example, *sthambha* happens due to mental shock (as in *sthambibhutva*) (Sharma, 1964). This type of usage of terminology, referring to physiological process in terms of psychological terms shows that Indian thinkers viewed psyche–soma as a continuum.

Nātyashāstra shows that Indian thinkers had recognized all the relevant variables, which operate in the experience and expression of emotions. It is clear that they were a step ahead and more sophisticated in distinguishing between aesthetic experience and ordinary human emotions (*rasa* and bhāva); between 'trait' and 'state' emotions; between the innate tendencies, activating and strengthening factors; and the different types of overt expressions. *Nātyashāstra* as a practical manual deals with the theory and techniques of producing or creating an aesthetic mood in the spectators through conscious verbal and non-verbal behaviour of the actor and environmental manipulation, and its approach may be regarded as essentially cognitive—behaviouristic to this extent.

Though *rasa* theory provides a basis to understand the experience and expression of emotions it does not address certain motivational issues associated with emotions. For example, the concept *arishadvarga*—six enemies of man namely, *kāma* (desire), *krodha* (anger), *lobha* (avarice), *moha* (infatuation/involvement/passion), *mada* (pride), and *mātsarya* (jealousy), which is so crucial in the Indian scheme of understanding, and transforming of human nature is not addressed by investigators. They become very important in the present context when so many people are trying to use yoga as intervention strategy.

It is to be reiterated here that the main thrust of Indian psychology is on transformation and hence, the above emotions are viewed as enemies. So the emphasis of seers and sages—ancient and contemporary—has always been on how to overcome them. Hence, developing indigenous perspectives requires studying these emotions in the light of how Indian traditions have approached them. Usha Ram (2000) makes one such attempt on anger.

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:11 PM Page 135

Krodha

Krodha is anger, fury to be precise, and anger management is one of the important areas of psychological intervention in contemporary psychotherapy. Ram (2000) has attempted to explore this theme utilizing the *slokas*, which deal with characteristics of a *stitaprajna* in Bhagavad-Gita (see Slokas from 54–72 in Chapter 2), where a relation between desire and anger is delineated. As the Bhagavad Gita says, the root of anger is *kāma*, 'desire'. Frustration of our desires causes anger, which, metaphorically, blinds the person and ultimately leads to destruction. Desires happen at the three levels—intellect, mind, and body. The pure nature of desire (or *kāma*) is to know reality, which is at the intellectual level. However, it is through the human body that one satisfies one's desire. Therefore, physical needs (e.g., food, sleep, and sex) and emotional desires (e.g., security, love, and esteem) require satisfaction. Satisfying needs and desire at these levels are descriptive of our functioning towards the goal of transient happiness ('*sukha*'), paving the way to the final goal of bliss ('*ananda*'). *Kāma* gives rise not only to attraction/attachment to the objects of desire but also to anger and fury ('*krodha*') when desires get frustrated. *Kāma*, predominantly at the body level, causes greater anger and leads to adverse consequences at the level of psychophysiology. To reduce such experiences of anger, people must adhere to *dharma*, which enables them to transcend the basic levels of desires. It leads to the higher goals of prolonged than transient bodily happiness, and finally, to liberation ('moksha') from the bondage of desires and attachments, which are involved in our existence.

Jnāna, Vijnāna, and Viveka

Indian traditions emphasize on knowledge (*jnāna*) and discrimination (*viveka*) as means of overcoming all the problems of human existence and hence, study of cognition is a very important aspect. It may not be wrong to say that in one sense, the primary thrust of Indian psychology is cognition. Indian philosophical systems can be distinguished from others by its emphasis on cognition and wisdom guided by transcendental awareness. The terms *jnāna* and *jnāni* have often been used in spiritual texts, exclusively when referring to knowledge of the absolute and knower of that. So, from Indian point of view, all others who have not attained the knowledge of the absolute are *ajnānis*, however scholarly they are about scriptures and all other worldly knowledge.

Elevation of rationality in the Western tradition has accorded supremacy to intellectual knowledge. In contrast, Indian traditions view consciousness primarily as affect in Indian tradition and it leads to cognition.

There have been attempts in understanding cognition/knowledge from a comparative perspective. Misra (1999) has attempted to delineate the Indian psychology of cognition. Besides this, Misra et al. (2000) have explored the notion of wisdom in Western and Eastern traditions, and

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:11 PM Page 136

delineate the Eastern view of wisdom on the basis of the Bhagavad-Gita. They note that the Bhagavad-Gita asserts that suffering is an in-built feature of the phenomenal reality. The solution lies in becoming wise. The study concludes that holism, dynamism, and emancipation constitute the process of wisdom. The experiential, psychological, and social characteristics of wise people are seen to situate them in harmony with rest of the world. They observe that this approach offers a more comprehensive and deeper perspective on wisdom than the Western tradition (see also Tripathi and Babu's chapter on Cognitive Processes in Vol. 1).

Deshpande (1996) has presented a comparison of Eastern and Western concepts of memory. He observes that both Eastern and modern Western scholars have emphasized concepts like impression, recall, retention, and recognition. He also discusses structure and processes of memory, loss of memory and its treatment, and ways of improving memory from both points of view.

Purushartha

Purushartha is another important concept of Indian thought, which refers to the motivational aspect of human behaviour. Hiriyanna (1975) notes that the term Purushartha means, 'what are desired by man' (p. 6) and so he uses the term 'human values' as its English equivalent. According to him, the distinguishing aspect between man and animals, which also pursue ends like the former and strives to satisfy the desires, is the definite awareness of it on the part of human beings. 'The presupposition of knowledge is only the distinguishing mark of values sought by him, *as such*, and it is they that are to be understood by the term *purushārtha*' (ibid, p. 7).

Indian tradition has distinguished between four primary values of life namely, *dharma, artha, kāma*, and *moksha*. *Dharma* represents value-orientation. *Artha* represents material wealth. *Kāma* represents all types of desires. *Moksha* represents liberation and freedom from the cycle of birth and death. The Indian tradition holds that human beings have to pursue *artha* and *kāma*, material wealth and pleasure guided by *dharma*, values, and strive towards *moksha*, liberation, like a train travelling to a destination being pushed from behind and pulled forward. The ultimate and supreme goal of human existence, *paramapurushārtha*, is *moksha*. This is a teleological conception. The first three encompass all the concepts and theories of motivation, from *hedonic* to *eudaimonic* (Ryan & Deci, 2001), available in modern psychology. But, the last one, *moksha*, is unique to Indian tradition, and it is rooted in the understanding that human beings have the inherent capability to transcend the limitations imposed by nature and attain freedom in an absolute sense.

Self-actualization and transcendence are perceived to be at the top of the hierarchy of motives in the Indian context. Beyond self-actualization and transcendence, spiritual pursuit and union with the universal self are

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:11 PM Page 137

considered to be the ultimate aim of life. Rangaswami (1994) has studied 30 Hindus (60 to 90 years) to verify the concept of an ultimate aim in life. Findings reveal that 93 per cent of them believed in spiritual pursuit aimed at union with the universal self as the ultimate goal of life. Wadhwa and Jain (1990) have developed a scale, which measures the attitude of teachers towards four *purushartha*. The scale is found to be fairly valid and is independent to a great extent.

Chauhan (1994) has explored *Prithivi Suktam* of the Atharva Veda. The Prithivi Suktam, a song in honour of Mother Earth, presents the Vedic approach to the fulfilment of people's aspirations based on their perceptions pertaining to role relationship, nurturance, ideology, affiliation, and beauty; while emphasizing vectors like expression and preservation, enhancement and acquisition. The author provides a comprehensively structured value-vector matrix to analyze the Prithivi Suktam for its utility to develop profiles of people's life space in terms of their cultural perceptions and aspirations.

Santosha

Singh and Misra (2000) have tried to delineate the notion of 'santosha' (contentment) in the everyday discourse taking gender variations and developmental stages into consideration. The study was conducted on sub-groups of young adults, older people, and saint (n = 100). The data were obtained through an open-ended measure pertaining to different experiences related to contentment. The findings indicated that the dynamics of contentment had somewhat different connotation for common people particularly, young adults in comparison to the group of saints. Saints emerged as an exclusive category of people who shared a rational world view while viewing contentment in different facets of life. Younger as well as older adults construed the understanding of contentment in their collective life-style dominated largely by emotional bonding. It was also observed that materialistic desires still prevail while pursuing the goals of pleasure, enjoyment, happiness, and contentment. It seems that in the years to come, the centrality of contentment will play a leading role in safeguarding human existence and social equilibrium.

Swādhyāya

In two studies, Shinde (2001, 2002) has investigated the followers of a spiritual leader, Panduranga Shastry Athavale, who are known as 'Swādhyāyees'. Swādhyāya means self-study or discovery of self. According to Athavale, 'swādhyāya is an attitude of the mind, it is the right perspective or the vision which enable one to understand and practice the deeper aspects of religion and culture' (Shinde, 2001). Shinde has explored the spiritual and material aspects of swādhyāyee and non-swādhyāyee families. The sample consisted of 101 persons (25 to 50 years),

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:11 PM Page 138

51 from swādhyāyee and 50 from non-swādhyāyee families. Subjects were administered the Mathew Materialism-Spiritualism Scale (MMSS) (Mathew, 1973). He has found that swādhyāyee, besides being high on spiritual orientation also show superior social health; and a high level of interpersonal trust when compared to the other group (Shinde, 2001). Comparison of the level of emotional maturity of swādhyāyee youth ($n = 79$) associated with the Divine Brain Trust (DBT) and that of non-swādhyāyee youth ($n = 84$) of both the gender, in the age range of 18 to 25 years, showed that the former group scored significantly lower than the non-DBT group (non-swādhyāyee group) on all the components of emotional maturity (less score means a higher level of emotional maturity). Males and females did not differ significantly from each other on emotional maturity (Shinde, 2002).

Study of the role of religion in mental health and the relation between spirituality and health has been an important area of research contemporarily and in Indian traditions we find many strategies of promoting health through spiritual practices, such as swādhyāya. Large-scale studies on such practices are the need of the hour to foster health and well-being through spiritual pursuits.

Karma

Karma is a very important indigenous, explanatory construct that falls in the domain of causal attributions. It has played a significant role in Indian ethos in adaptation, adjustment, and coping process. Karnik and Suri (1995) note that the law of *karma* in India provides a value-oriented explanation for an individual's life condition in the physical, economic, social, and spiritual domains. The individual assumes moral responsibility for his/her own deeds in all these domains. They have examined the implications of belief in law of *karma* for social work practice and policy consideration.

A few have focussed on the role of *karma* as an attitudinal/attributional construct in the illness and healing process (Agrawal & Dalal, 1993; Dalal, 2000b; Kohli & Dalal, 1998). In a meta-analysis, Dalal (2000b) noted that patients in Indian hospitals consistently attributed their illness to *karma* and God's will. These cosmic beliefs were found to influence patients' treatment-related decisions. All the patients actively constructed the meaning and causality of their problems, and many their explanatory models rooted in the cultural belief system, which clearly determine how they will deal with the crisis (see Sharma and Misra's chapter on Health Psychology in Vol. 3).

Dāna, Dharma, Neeti, and Āchāra—Concepts of Charity, Justice, Ethics, and Morality

The concept of justice and justice rule preferences have been enquired into the Indian context by investigators. Among them, Krishnan has been

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:11 PM Page 139

Box 2.6: Characteristics of Traditional Indian View of Justice

(1) Dharmashastras distinguish justice with reference to *vyvahāra* (behaviour in social contexts) and *āchāra* (prescribed moral conduct).
(2) Justice is a recurring theme in aphorisms, codes, anecdotes, and dialogues. It can only be *inferred* from the context. No single definition or systematic 'theory' of justice seems to exist.
(3) Justice is one of the many expressions of *neeti*, a term that broadly means policy, or moral, or ethical codes, which are *prescriptive* by definition.
(4) The traditional view of justice is closest to 'the sense of *getting or giving what one deserves*'. In turn, it is embedded in '*an implicit action—outcome relationship*'.
(5) Deservingness is determined by the recipient's worthiness as indicated in his/her *samskaras* that is, the innate as well as learned or acquired substrates of behaviour.
(6) The justice concept is *taxonomic*, discussed in two broad contexts, distribution of tangible or concrete resource, and retribution for a prescribed action.

consistently working on this topic and has attempted to understand the role of culture in justice rule preferences among Indians. Krishnan (1997, pp. 186–88) has tried to identify six characteristics of traditional Indian view of justice and they are summarized here (see Box 2.6).

In a more recent paper, Krishnan (2005) compares the traditional and contemporary Indian perspectives of *dana* (daan) as a form of giving, and distributive justice as deservingness. She has discussed elaborately *dana* (daan) as a form of prosocial behaviour and has attempted to elucidate the uniqueness of this concept. She notes that conceptually *dana* is prescriptive in religious contexts and is distinguished from other forms of 'giving' like *paropakāra* (doing good to others) and *sahāya/sahāyata/sāhāyyam* (helping), which are closer to the contemporary view of prosocial behaviour. She observes that conceptual divergences between the traditional and contemporary views may be determined with reference to the following aspects of 'giving' namely, cost to the donor, voluntariness, reciprocal need, empathy, and reciprocity. The findings of her empirical research (Krishnan, 1994, 1998b, 2000, 2001) show that a number of variables—cultural, social, developmental, and situational operate together and interact to determine the justice rule preferences of people.

Krishnan's work on justice can be regarded as a good model for researchers in developing integrative indigenous perspectives in this as well as in other domains because of its balanced approach, without an exclusive focus. Nevertheless, it can only be observed that no one, including Krishnan herself, seemed to have incorporated these features of traditional Indian view on justice in their research designs, and we have to go a long way in this direction.

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:11 PM Page 140

DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN PERSPECTIVES ON ILLNESS, HEALTH, WELL-BEING, THERAPY, AND HEALING

Srivastava (2001) notes that 'if India may claim to have devoted constantly and consistently to any particular field of enquiry and research down the ages, it is obviously in the sphere of the understanding of the human individual with a view to promoting his welfare' (p. viii). Human welfare is conceived in terms of the eradication of suffering in the form of bondage and limitation, and human mind is regarded as the cause of all suffering and limitation, as well as of the freedom and well-being, right from the time of the Vedas down to this day. This view remains a point of agreement across divergent schools of thought. This unanimity goes a long way to establish the claims of India's contribution to the field of human psychology—both theoretical and practical. This is one area of application of Indian perspectives, which has attracted global and local attention. Researchers have endeavoured to elucidate the indigenous concepts of illness, health, and well-being, and also attempted to develop indigenous therapeutic and healing strategies.

Dukkha: Perspectives on Suffering

Dukkha or suffering is an important Indian concept, which is being discussed in the context of illness and, health and stress research (Palsane & Lam, 1996; Verma, 1994). It is a broad concept, which also incorporates the concept stress. Some have enquired into the nature of suffering and healing (Anand et al., 2001; Paranjpe, 1998b), and of stress and coping (Lam & Palsane, 1997) from Indian perspective. Verma (1994) analyzes *dukkha* and examines its etiology in the light of Indian religious–philosophical literature. She notes that the Indian way of approaching a problem is to go to the very root of the problem by delineating its causes and identifying the underlying processes. It involves a search for enduring solutions rather than short-term palliatives. Her analysis suggests that the reasons for sorrow are: (a) the conception of a limited self, (b) the emergence of the quality of restless mobility or *rajoguna*, (c) dependence on external objects as sources of *sukha* (pleasure), and (d) fear of separation from the source of *sukha*.

According to Palasane and Lam (1996) the Western approach is concerned with distress or the negative aspects of stress, whereas in Eastern thought, both pleasure and pain are considered stressful, and there is a greater acceptance of suffering. They note that the thinking in India in particular, and the religions and philosophies of the East in general, centre on the phenomenon of suffering. Suffering is seen as a life process. In the East, pleasure as well as pain are considered as stressful and a part of suffering. Suffering is held as an essential condition of human existence, and the focus and emphasis is on the sufferer rather than on the symptoms

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:11 PM Page 141

of suffering. This is because existence is viewed differently. Suffering belongs to the lower levels of existence—at the levels of body and mind. Existence at these levels is also considered inevitable before one is able to liberate oneself from the suffering and the cycle of rebirth involving perpetual suffering. There is a greater degree of acceptance or tolerance of suffering in the East than in the West. Specific manifestations of misery or suffering are unimportant in traditional Indian thought, as they are only symptoms.

More important are the causes that give rise to suffering. The stress researchers have evolved taxonomy of stress, whereas ancient Indian and Chinese texts have focussed on the causes of suffering. These include types of pain (self- and environment-generated, supernatural), intense desires, and ego involvement or afflictions (*klesas*). The consequences of suffering are mental pain, despair, and exhaustion. The Eastern perspective emphasizes long-term strategies such as meditation and evolving a world view (Lam & Palsane, 1997). As Anand et al. (2001) note 'the Indian view emphasizes ignorance of one's true self, the ephemeral quality of life and the insatiability of desires as the root cause of suffering' (p. 114). The authors note that *Sāmkhya Kārika* has conceived three types of human suffering namely, (a) *ādhibhautika*, which involves suffering arising from external physical factors, such as other humans, animals, and so on; (b) *ādhidaivika*, which arises from a different type of external factors, such as demons or deities; and (c) *ādhyātmika*, which focusses on dealing with suffering 'pertaining to the self'. The *ādhyatmika* suffering arises from two internal sources: one from the body, and the other from the mind. Of these, bodily pain is believed to result from an imbalance of bodily humors, and it can be alleviated by ingesting medicine. But the mental suffering is believed to be arising from misconstrued notions of reality and selfhood and can be removed through right insight.

The three types of suffering (*tāpa traya*) mentioned above have formed the bases for all types of healing practices in Indian tradition, where we have well-systematized ones like *ayurveda, siddha*, and folk healing practices. Patanjali in *Yoga Sutra* regards *klesa* as the primary source of suffering. *Klesas* are five in number namely, *avidya* (ignorance), *asmita* (egoism), *rāga* (attraction), *dvesa* (repulsion), and *abhinivesha* (lust for life). They are afflictions that plague a person leading to misery. The factors, which help to overcome suffering include *dharma* (right conduct), detachment and impulse control, belief in rebirth and *karma*, and transcendence.

Swāsthya: Perspectives on Health and Well-being

In recent years there has been a shift in the focus from treatment of illness to fostering well-being in mainstream psychology, as evident from the emergence of positive psychology (Linley & Joseph, 2004; Snyder & Lopez,

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:11 PM Page 142

2001; Seligman, 2002; Seligman & Ciskzenthmihalyi, 2000). In the Indian context we have many concepts related to well-being and there been a few attempts to examine these ideas (Salagame, 2002, 2003, 2004a, b; Singh & Misra, 2000). If we look into Indian tradition, it is amazing that ancient and contemporary sages and seers dwelt on this theme extensively, and provided detailed analysis of the notion of human happiness and well-being. Salagame (2002, 2003, 2004a, b) has attempted to develop a theoretical perspective on the notion of happiness and well-being using indigenous concepts like *ananda, santosha, sukha, trpti, ullasa, harsha, shanti*, and *swāsthya*, which is already discussed (see sub-section 'Psychology of Upanishads' under 'Psychology with an Indian Identity').

Sushrutha Samhita a well-known *ayurvedic* text defines *swāsthya* with reference to body, mind, and spirit. Not only that it specifies health as a condition of balance of bodily elements (*sama dhātu*), body humors (*sama dosha*), body energies (*samāgni*), and unhindered eliminative process, it also insists that one should have pleasant disposition in his/her sensory functioning, mind, and self (*prasanna ātma indriya manaha*) (*Sutra Sthana*, Chapter 15, 41st *sloka*). Psychologists often do not take this holistic conception of health seriously. The role of spiritual dimension is not fully acknowledged.

The necessity of developing a newer perspective of health and well-being incorporating the Indian world view is emphasized by many. Wig (1999) notes that psychiatry and psychiatrists often ignore the value and role of spirituality in the life of patients. He argues that the Indian system does not follow the Western concepts of mind–body dichotomy. Furthermore, the Hindu view of life includes righteousness, biological needs, social needs, release from worldly bondage, and union with the ultimate reality as relevant variables in defining health and well-being. The author cautions that clinicians must be aware of scientific progress without ignoring the role of religion. Parasher (2000) observes that the faulty lifestyle is one of the major antecedents of different diseases. Following the Indian science of life, *Āyurveda*, the regulation of *āhāra* (food), *vihāra* (recreation), *āchāra* (routine), and *vichāra* (thinking) is proposed to achieve the state of positive health and well-being.

In an interesting analysis, Shukla (2000) observes that the code of health is culturally constituted. The medical and social discourses often intermix and influence each other to promote notion(s) of health. The Indian notion of health views that a *swastha* person is autolocated. Further, he notes that, in the field of health and illness, the basic condition of health is the *swāsthya*, the state of 'being-in-itself'.

Many investigators have been trying to provide the much-needed new vision of health and well-being (Salagame, 2004a, 2006; Mohan et al., 2004). Mohan et al. (2004) have studied the effects of spiritually based lifestyle change programme of Rishi Samskruti Vidya Kendra, Bangalore

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:11 PM Page 143

on individuals' well-being. The authors note that the idea that active participation in a lifestyle-change programme can bring about the much-desired positive changes in one's health and well-being is a concept that is being aggressively promoted in the modern world. It was found that an overwhelming majority of the participants experienced an increase in their sense of purpose of meaning for their lives, and in their need to achieve higher consciousness. From the factor analysis of the ICRE responses emerged five clusters of items related to well-being, orientation to life goals, spirituality, life goals, and interest in the paranormal.

Mohan et al. (2004) explored the construct of spiritual well-being as understood and experienced by a broad section of an Indian population, and he also attempted to provide a yogic perspective from experiential insights of Sri Aurobindo. Spiritual well-being was experienced to an extent independent of the outer conditions, and circumstances. Although the understanding of spiritual well-being differed amongst the various religious and spiritual groups, yet the deeper experiences were characterized by a closer harmony and similarity. The different states of well-being are related to the map of consciousness as described by Sri Aurobindo.

Cikitsa: Perspectives on Therapy and Healing

Different healing traditions—ancient to modern—show that there is an integral relation between the systems of medicine practised and the world view in which they have developed. This applies to psychotherapeutic systems as well. The Indian conceptions of suffering, of health, and well-being have determined the approaches to therapy and healing in a unique way (Salagame, 2004a).

Anand et al. (2001) have discussed the different healing practices prevalent in India and their bases in relation to *tāpa traya* and *klesa*. They observe, 'the typical Indian perspective upholds the view that (a) human desires for pleasure can never be completely satiated, and (b) complete annihilation of suffering is indeed possible' (p. 115). As they note, suffering, according to Indian view, is not inherent in actual or feared loss of (close relationships, material and social possessions, health, status, etc.) anyone or anything that adds meaning to one's existence, but is contingent on one's cognitive construction of these tragic events. Therefore, developing an insight into the 'real' nature of oneself is what psychological healing is all about. They further argue that the term psychological healing takes as varied meanings as are the different healing systems across cultures.

From the Indian point of view, psychological healing may be understood as the experience of an inner sense of well-being, harmony, balance, and peace. Second, it is a process through which the harmony between mind, body, and spirit is restored. Third, it would involve a transcendence

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:11 PM Page 144

of the existing state of consciousness, which would entail a reconstruction of one's reality, a change in attitude, and broadening of one's vision and perspective. Fourth, psychological healing engenders hope, acceptance, release of trapped psychic energy, resolution of internal conflicts, and new insights. Thus healing does not change the situation, but changes the individual to deal effectively and appropriately with the existing situation. Authors note that even though the nature of psychological healing is understood, it is still not known how these healing traditions touch the inner realm of an individual, to change the internal equation, to transform one's current state of consciousness (where in one was suffering) to an altered state where suffering loses its potency and one feels healed (Anand et al., 2001)

Another attempt that utilizes the notion of suffering—healing relationship for psychotherapeutic practice is that of Beg (1970) and Beg and Beg (1996). Beg (1970) has examined the theory and practice of psychological help in the Sufi tradition. The way the concepts including 'inner resources', happiness and serenity (Tamaniant-E-Nafs), and the nature of the self, Kashf, definable as 'intuitive–empathic understanding' contribute to psychological helping process, has been discussed.

Drawing inspiration from the Viktor Frankl's logo therapy and the Vedāntic view of life, Beg and Beg (1996) note that man's well-being depends upon his understanding of the meaning and purpose of life, which cannot be separated from its creative force and its self-transcending quality or the will-to-be. Therefore, the meanings in life are to be found in the reality around us. According to these researchers, all problems and sufferings in life tend to arise from 'absorption' of the creative force of life in pursuits that frustrate its true meaning and are ultimately self-defeating, such as pleasure-seeking, searching for happiness in organic satisfactions, and sensory pleasures. They also arise under an attitude of irresponsibility towards life and indiscriminate actions.

Still others have come up with an indigenous approach to a therapy that makes use of cultural attitudes, belief system, values, myths, symbols, and so on, (Manickam, 2004; Neki, 2000; Rangaswami, 1996; Shamasundar, 1993, 1995a, b, 1997, 2003; Venkatachalam, 2003). Neki (2000) has observed that those psychotherapeutic concepts evolved in a given culture essentially adhere to the world premise of that culture. Psychoanalytic concepts appear to be limited when employed in other cultures. The 'conscious' and the 'unconscious' appear as the simultaneous modes of functioning of the mind rather than two separate compartments. Libido seems to have two main streams: that is, libido sensual and libido affectionless. While both the streams are available in all cultures, a culture is in a position to give either a determinative role or subsume the other under it. It has implications for understanding psychological constructs and therapeutic practices.

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:11 PM Page 145

Rangaswami (1996) has underlined the importance of using the indigenous therapeutic procedures, which may consist of paradigms based on the guru–chela relationship, surrendering to the benevolent authority figure, counselling of the Bhagavad-Gita, ahimsa as a method of self-control, and spiritual monitoring of lifestyles.

Shamasundar (1993, 1995a, b, 1997, 2003) has argued that in an Indian perspective, the miseries and illnesses are one's own making and an inevitable part of human life; and that an individual can overcome them by appropriate options and necessary efforts. This theme challenges the contemporary concept of primary prevention. As mental health is subservient and a natural consequence of spiritual practices, it is the only worthwhile aim of life. Such a practice and the required ideal human behaviour have mental-health-promoting qualities. The notion of 'mental health' has emphasis on contentment. Also, the desirable therapist qualities share many components of the ideal human behaviours, indicating that an ideal person would most probably be a 'natural psychotherapist'. He has also argued that mythological material can be successfully used in psychotherapeutic work.

Venkatachalam (2003) has attempted to utilize Tirukkural philosophy as an aid to counselling using the rational emotive behaviour therapy (REBT) approach. It mainly consists of disputing the beliefs systems of the client. The purpose of disputation is to show how their belief systems are against the common reality and on that ground, how those belief systems jeopardize the interest of the client. When a change takes place in the belief system it is a fundamental process and sustains well. An REBT therapist in his effort to counsel employs techniques drawn from different approaches. One of the recent methods is giving a discourse. A discourse consists of material drawn form one's cultural sources like folklore, scriptures, stories, life examples, and social treatises. In this context, the author considers Tirukkural as one of the best-suited social treatise, which can be extensively used by the counselor. As Venkatachalam observes, the most important REBT principles match well with that of Tirukkural.

Manickam (2004) has discussed the concept *sahya* and its relevance in contemporary psychology. '*Sahya* literally means to prevail, to be victorious, to overcome, to vanquish, to conquer, to gain, to tolerate and to allow…Depending on the context, *sahya* denotes the meaning to bear, endure, suffer, and put up with…not out of weakness to react, but for the cause of the ultimate 'Truth", by not giving up in times of turmoil or adverse stressful factors' (p. 428). Manickam has attempted to bring out the relevance of this concept in Mahatma Gandhi's style of relating, in self-growth, in community living, and in global peace. He has provided guidelines for future research on this concept.

Tripathi (2004) has discussed the concept and application of an Indian approach to psychotherapy known as *satvāvajaya* from *Āyurveda*. *Sattvāvajaya* is a composite term constituted by *satva* and *avajaya*. The term

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:11 PM Page 146

avajaya means restrengthening, and *satvāvajaya* means restrengthening of the *sātvic* tendencies, which makes the psychophysiological system free from deviations and disorders. The main objectives of this are refinement of thinking (*cintya parimārjana*), modification of ideas (*vicārya parimārjana*), improvement of understanding (*uhya parimārjana*), guidance for aims and objectives (*dhyeya parimārjana*), and promotion of will power (*samkalpa parimārjana*). The main components of *sattvāvajaya* are: *āśvāsana* (assurance), *samsucana* (suggestion), *pratyāyana* (persuasion), *nirdesana* (guidance), *prasiksana* (education and training), *parimarjana* (correction and modification), *sammohana* (hypnosis), *visamvedana* (desensitization), *recana* (catharsis), and *smpriti* (satisfaction or replacement). General, individual, and group *sattvāvajaya* are also practised.

Different attempts on utilizing Indian concepts and theories to develop therapeutic perspectives and techniques indicate the potential for developing Indian systems of psychotherapy (see Paranjpe, 1998b; Rangaswami, 1996). There are limitations for their mutual borrowing and enrichment. It may be noted that the presuppositions underlying human life and its goals and also the possibility of liberation envisioned in Indian tradition is in stark contrast to what may be called a 'cross-sectional approach' to human existence of the Western science.

Thus we find that indigenous perspectives focus more on the nature of suffering, healing, and well-being. Illness, therapy, and health are a subset of suffering, healing, and well-being, and thus the latter triad is more comprehensive than the former. This message is very clear in that oft-repeated prayer—*sarve bhavantu sukhinaha sarve santu niramaya, sarve bhadrani pashyantu ma kashidukahbhagbhavet* (Let everyone become happy, let everyone be relaxed, let everyone perceive auspiciously, let not anybody be afflicted by sorrow at any time).

DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN CONCEPTS IN ORGANIZATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

Samgha and *Samghatana*: Perspectives on Organizational Behaviour

Samghe shaktih kalau yuge: Thus goes a popular and often-quoted statement, which means that in this 'era of *Kali*' strength lies in organization. From the Indian perspective *samgha*, organization and *samghatana*, organizing, are important, and it is appropriate that psychologists have paid attention to organizational behaviour from an indigenous point of view. Taking recourse to endogenous indigenization, researchers have drawn materials from Upanishads, Vedānta, and Bhagavad-Gita. In this genre, the work of Chakraborty (1985, 1987a, b, 1988, 1991, 1993, 1995, 1998) is pioneering and significant due to his emphasis on adopting values derived

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:11 PM Page 147

from the Indian context in management. He has developed a model called 'ānandālogy', based on the concept *ānanda* described in Taittiriya Upanishad. Others who represent this trend include Bahl (1995), Dhar and Dhar (1994, 2001), Gupta (1994), Mehra and Krishnan (2005), Menon and Krishnan (2004), A. Sharma (1995), S. Sharma (1996, 1997a, b, 1999), and Sharma and Lad (1994). For details of these studies, readers can refer to the reviews by Prakash (2003), Vohra et al. (2003), and also to the two chapters on organizational behaviour (OB) in this survey.

There are problems in using Vedāntic ideas in corporate sector and other organizations (see Prakash, 2003). Vedānta emphasizes on transcendental dimension of human existence, and its concerns are different from the day-to-day mundane business activities of the corporate world. What is important is the pursuit of *kāma* (desires) and *artha* (wealth) in the light of *dharma* in all its connotations than *ātma jnāna* and *ātma sākshātakāra*. For this, our *ithihāsa, purāna, rājaneeti*, and *dharmashāstra* are more relevant and can provide better insights and anchors. OB researchers have much to gain by exploring sources like Kautilya's *Arthashāstra*, Manu's *Dharmashāstra*, Chanakya's *Neetishāstra*, *Vidhura neeti* in Mahābhārata, and such others, where one finds extensive discussions on role behaviour and management aspects. Indian history has also model kings like Janaka of Rāmāyana in ancient times and Nālvadi Krishna Rāja Wodeyar of Mysore in the modern times who were known as *rājarshi* for their integration of the material and spiritual aspects in their personality. Their biography and how they ruled can teach us something valuable on management strategies. It may also be instructive to undertake a biographical study of industrialists like Jamshedji Tata in the past and Azim Premji and N. R. Narayana Murthy in the present, who have tried to incorporate spiritual values into corporate sector in a big way and have succeeded in bringing India on the world map in the business sector.

PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES IN DEVELOPING INDIAN PSYCHOLOGY

Although the idea of 'Indian Psychology' is almost a century old, its development has been met with resistance because of many reasons—academic as well as non-academic. They are related to ontological, epistemological, and socio-cultural aspects of knowledge development. As all knowledge development happens in a context, the last one is addressed first.

Socio-cultural Issues

Socio-cultural refers to the context in which being, knowing, and means of knowing exist and operate, and how they are influenced by that context.

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:11 PM Page 148

These have implications for both individual and social actions and also for the development of psychology discipline itself. Modernity—post-modernism and perpetual progress—limits to progress are the issues related to socio-cultural aspects (Paranjpe, 2004a).

It was already noted that psychological insights available in ancient Indian traditions were developed primarily with an emancipatory interest of ancient seers and sages, and not with a technical and critical interest in knowledge development. That is how researchers recognized its central concern as *ādhyātma*. But when we consider the modern Indian context, the early attempts at formulation of Indian psychology could not relate to the then contemporary developments in modern psychology and scientific way of sharing the ideas, which were developed from technical and critical interests. As Sinha (1993) noted, they were rejected by psychologists in India who were trained in empirical tradition. Second, independence of psychology departments from philosophy departments in 1960s also made psychologists compulsive in maintaining a distinct identity by adopting a scientistic stance that goes well with technical and critical interest. Third, the scepticism and aversion inherited from our colonial past towards traditional knowledge systems also contributed for the rejection (Dalal, 1996; Paranjpe, 2002).

Adair et al. (1995, p. 393) have found that Indian psychologists expressed significantly a greater need for indigenization, but they did not endorse substantially the idea that psychology can be made more relevant to the local context by a 'return to Vedic or other traditional writings'. As a result, even though many psychologists in India in mid-1960s and in 1970s recognized the need for making psychology relevant to their sensibility, it largely remained acultural (Pandey, 2001). Fourth, majority of the psychologists have preferred to work in the mainstream as the traditional ideas may not help in academic progress, in gaining recognition, and in securing grants for research projects (Krishnan, 1994), all of which do not go with the emancipatory interest of ancient seers and sages.

These socio-cultural factors have together created a peculiar situation in the way psychologists in India have been operating. Under the influence of our colonial past, modernization, Westernization, and the prestige of scientific paradigm, the classical and folk traditions are perceived as primitive and superstitious, and the psychological insights embedded in them are often neglected. As Tripathi (2000) notes, many Indian psychologists do not perceive anything wrong with the empiricist and mechanist models and methodologies; hence, indigenization is a non-issue for them. A large section of psychologists have shied away from Indian perspectives because of this attitude and the religio-philosophical context in which those perspectives are embedded.

But, paradoxically a greater majority of them also share the same socio-cultural context with the rest of the Indian population and are guided by

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:11 PM Page 149

the same religio-philosophical perspectives in their personal lives, which have shaped the attitudes, emotions, motivations, morals, values, and so on, of the Indian masses in their day-to-day living! This situation has created some kind of split in the personality. A psychologist in his/her role as a scientist conducts the professional activities with a set of assumptions and beliefs, which is oriented to technical and critical interest; and as a person, lives and acts with another set of assumptions and beliefs, which is derived from emancipatory interest of ancient seers and sages. In this scenario, psychology has alienated itself from the cultural roots of such behaviour and has substantially lost its relevance in certain contexts. While this situation may not affect the activity of other professionals very much, it certainly has some significance for a discipline like psychology that deals with human action. Hence, a major challenge is how to heal the split and how to promote integration.

Another dimension of socio-cultural issue is the contemporary Indian context itself. Sinha (2000) observes that in the Indian context there are three major streams of cultural influences. They are the 'western influences with a backdrop of colonial experiences', the 'ancient Indian wisdom enshrined in various religious texts and scriptures', and the 'folkways which manifest the confluence of the two as they filter through people's experiences in coping with their day to day realities'. These streams of cultural influences constitute a 'triangular space' giving rise to varying degrees of indigenization of psychology in India.

J. B. P. Sinha has distinguished the following six different trends. (a) *The purist trend following the ancient Indian wisdom* emphasizes Vedāntic knowledge as the chief source with the belief that it is timeless and still applicable in its original. (b) *The trend towards endogenous indigenization* reflects the efforts of those that believe in the veracity of Vedānta concepts, but examine them with Western empirical methods. (c) *The purist trend in the Western psychological tradition* refers to the belief in the universal nature of psychological knowledge in which differences in cultural context are treated as incidental and unimportant. (d) *The trend towards exogenous indigenization* is rooted in concepts, framework, and methods that are still Western but their applications are culture-sensitive. (e) *The trend towards integrative indigenization* is a mix of both Indian and Western concepts and methods, but conceptually distinct in having greater degrees of their integration with an allegiance to the Indian folkways. (f) Further, these trends seem to either adapt the existing methods and procedures or innovate new ones to suit their contents leading to *methodological indigenization* (Sinha, 1998). J. B. P. Sinha observes that integrative indigenization holds greater promise than others, because of its reliance on folkways and flexibility in drawing on whatever sources has useful ideas to offer. From the point of view of developing Indian psychology, a major challenge here is to decide which course of action is the best.

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:11 PM Page 150

Ontological and Epistemological Issues

Unlike the majority who prefer to remain within the framework of mainstream psychology, those researchers who are open to Indian tradition and are willing to risk their reputation, recognition, promotions, grants, and so on, have the following problem of choice: whether one should follow 'purist trend following the ancient wisdom' or 'trend towards endogenous indigenization' or purist trend in Western psychological tradition'? Underlying these different possibilities are certain assumptions of ontological and epistemological nature, which call for a value selection.

The emphasis on the ancient Indian wisdom, which regard Vedāntic knowledge as the chief source with the belief that it is timeless and is still applicable in its original, has been the mainstay of all those who have endeavoured to define and develop Indian psychology. The main challenge here is to demonstrate their contemporary validity. To some extent the challenge has been met, because Western transpersonal psychologists who grappled with the issues of the nature of consciousness first-hand, turned towards ancient Indian traditions as 'consciousness disciplines' (Walsh, 1980) for solution. That indicates the universal relevance of ancient Indian wisdom.

Further, even today the Indian socio-cultural scenario is influenced by the ancient wisdom and despite Westernization, modernization, and globalization, a vast majority of people in India have been adhering faithfully to the lifestyle and practices rooted in the traditional world view. Hence without this framework, it is not possible to do justice in accounting for their behaviour. But unfortunately, religious practices, spiritual truths, and superstitious beliefs have got mixed up for the past several thousands of years, and the biggest challenge in developing Indian psychology is to sift the grain from chaff and to decide what is valid and what is not.

This brings us to the next problem, how to do it. Many are in favour of applying modern scientific methods to verify and validate ancient truths, as transpersonal psychologists like Tart (1975a) believes. This line of thinking is characterized by J. B. P. Sinha as *the trend towards endogenous indigenization* that reflects the efforts of those who believe in the veracity of Vedānta concepts, but examine them with Western empirical methods. Here the challenge is how to reckon with the many insights developed by ancient seers and sages who were established in *turiya*, from our ordinary waking standpoint with a limited sensory-intellectual apparatus, which is a limited framework.

As pure consciousness is declared to be beyond subject–object duality, unless the investigator has 'experienced', he/she has to necessarily depend on the two kinds of *pramānās* (means of valid knowledge) accepted in Indian tradition namely, *śruti* (traditional scriptures) and *āpta vākya*

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:11 PM Page 151

(confirmation by an authority like a guru). Even if one concedes to do so, because such a state is said to be beyond speech and mind,[7] its descriptions vary from person to person, and to arrive at an accurate understanding based on them will remain an unresolved issue at the verbal level. Therefore, can we or can we not develop Indian psychology as *adhyātma shāstra* with *turiya* as the basis is a big challenge. The only way out is to accept it as an axiom, as it is customary in mathematics and physical sciences; and proceed further, till one 'experientially realizes' as the tradition affirms such a possibility.

Even if this position is accepted there are certain other related issues here. There is an argument that Indian psychological thought is experiential, that is a matter of subjective experience; hence it is not amenable for empirical approach of objective observation. It should be reiterated that meditative and reflective practices, which are integral to Indian methodology, help in achieving the required kind of objectivity about one's own mental processes, by facilitating the emergence of *sāksin*, witness consciousness, which renders all mental processes objective; and a detached observation of them is possible. Problem arises only if we limit the term to sensory observation.

Second, ancient rishis were as much observant about everything in the universe, as they depended on intuition. This can be illustrated with a simple and mundane example. Vātsyāyana's *kāma sūtra* lists different types of women and describes their beauty and sexual behaviour, including the shape and size of female genitalia (Sinha, 1961). This could not have happened if they were not thoroughly empirical.

Another related problem is whether quantification is admissible, as much of what is handed over in the tradition has a phenomenological flavour. An example will answer this question. In Taittiriya Upanishad, in Ānanda Valli, we come across a differentiation of *Ānanda* experience, like *mānusha ānanda*, *gandharva ānanda*, and *brahmānanda*. They are quantified exponentially, with a base line of *mānusha ānanda* determined by the constituents of material happiness, a handsome king may regard as maximum. *Brahmānanda* is regarded as several thousand times superior than *mānusha ānanda*.

Reductionism is another issue to be addressed. Indian tradition is not opposed to this. For instance, Hiriyanna (1932) has observed that 'by a process of analysis, the essential characteristics of the physical universe are reduced to three named *sattva, rajas*, and *tamas*, and *prakrti* is conceived as constituted of them'. According to Dasgupta (1922/1973) Sāmkhya holds that 'thought and matter are but two different modifications of certain subtle substances which are in essence but three types of feeling entities' (p. 243). The difference between Western and Indian type of reductionism lies not in the process, which is analytical, but in the basic world

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:11 PM Page 152

view that guides the process. While the former views mind and matter as opposite, the Indian tradition holds that mind-matter is a continuum.

These examples confirm that empiricism and quantification go well with the Indian tradition, and also illustrate that ancient seers and sages did make use of observation and quantification in matters related to human behaviour and experience. Hence, there is no problem in using empirical methodology wherever admissible.

The next problem is whether one should aim at Indian psychology in '*the purist trend in the Western psychological tradition*' that *refers* to the belief in the universal nature of psychological knowledge, in which differences in cultural context are treated as incidental and unimportant. As already noted, K. R. Rao has advocated the development of Indian psychology, which crosses the boundaries of India. Many others share similar view. Cornelissen notes that 'the pervasive influence of physicalism and reductionism in our global civilization blocks the development of an effective study of consciousness and other aspects of psychology'. He has proposed that 'the Indian tradition can provide psychology with a more appropriate philosophy, a richer theoretical foundation, and a more effective "technology" of consciousness'. He suggests, 'the rigorous and effective methods of Yoga can provide deep and reliable insight on human nature and bring about the radical psychological change that humanity is so dearly in need of' (2003, p. 18).

But in the post-modern era, the very assumption of developing universal laws of behaviour is questioned, and univocal conception of psychology is under fire (Paranjpe, 2004a). The underlying philosophy of modern psychology is increasingly questioned, and a major on-going debate is about *realism* and *relativism* that has led to *universalism–contexutalism* polarity, as already mentioned. These issues have been discussed very much in the recent past (Bem & de Jong, 2006; Capaldi & Proctor, 1999). Pluralistic conceptions of psychology are put forward (see Asthana, 2002; Cornelissen, 2003; Misra, 2000; Paranjpe, 1998a, 2002, 2004a; Varma, 2002a, 2004). In this changing scenario, efforts are being made to develop new perspectives like 'phenomenological psychology', 'symbolic interactionism', 'social representations', 'cultural psychology', 'feminism and psychology', 'discursive psychology', 'dialogical psychology', 'narratology', and 'idiography and the case study' (Smith et al., 1995a, b). These post-modern phenomena are contemporaneous with the developments in art, philosophy, and the humanities (Kvale, 1992).

So the question here is how the development of Indian psychology should progress. Whether it should be an indigenous psychology as another post-modern phenomenon or aim at universal laws and principles. Once again, the developments in transpersonal psychology show that Indian psychology can develop with pan-human relevance and at the same time applicable to local, socio-cultural context.

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:11 PM Page 153

FUTURE POSSIBILITIES

It was noted earlier that all of Indian psychology is not *ādhyātma* as Paranjpe emphasizes, and ancient seers and sages did pay attention to all aspects of human nature from sexuality and spirituality as J. Sinha's three volumes reveal. Therefore, one need not get the impression that Indian psychology is only about self and pure-consciousness, even though they are the central concerns. There is scope to study all aspects of human behaviour. Keeping this in view, we can now envision what can be done in future. There are several possibilities.

(1) Increasing the awareness among academic community about the relevance of ancient Indian wisdom in the context of contemporary developments in psychology, with an emphasis on its universal validity particularly, in the field of cognitive psychology, self and personality, health psychology, organizational psychology, where researchers have already made some headway in this direction from an Indian point of view. This may motivate more and more researchers to take interest in Indian psychology, which results in an increased output.

(2) Curriculum development and introduction of a paper on Indian psychology at the under- and post-graduate levels may motivate some to take interest in this. Currently available material can be meaningfully structured to develop the syllabus.

(3) Development of source material that will help researchers to familiarize themselves with Indian perspectives will help identify problems that are researchworthy. A main problem is lack of sufficient resource material in English language that can help researchers to become familiar with Indian concepts and perspectives. This can be achieved through organization of workshops, seminars, conferences, and refresher courses on specific themes in different domains; encouraging research in doctoral programmes, and publication of all the articles in journals and books.

(4) Engaging traditional scholars in dialogue to enhance our understanding of the ancient wisdom and formulate researchworthy problems.

(5) Indian tradition is known for its assimilative synthesis of ideas, irrespective of its origin, if they are found to be valid and hence, it is important to consider ideas from different systems and operationalize them. This will enable us to think from an Indian perspective and carry out further research. This is an area that has immense potentiality and also easy-to-go-about by any researcher who is willing to invest required energies. Factor analytical techniques come handy in this venture.

(6) There is a necessity to develop ideas available in different schools of Indian tradition. In developing Upanishadic psychology for instance, it is important to consider the contributions of three great masters

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:11 PM Page 154

Shankarāchārya, Ramānujāchārya, and Madhwāchārya; and their disciples. Their interpretations of the same Upanishadic texts led to three distinct schools of Vedānta namely, *advaita, vishishtādvaita*, and *dvaita*, translated as non-dualism, qualified non-dualism, and dualism. Among the three, *Advaita Vedānta* is recognized worldwide as the pinnacle and best representation of the unique philosophical insights of the Indian tradition. Some of the Western mystics also hold a view similar to that of *Advaita Vedānta*. Some of the modern physicists have also expressed their understanding of the nature of the universe and its underlying principle in a language, which comes close to *Advaita Vedānta* view. Thus, many psychologists have drawn inspiration from this school to develop Indian psychology to the neglect of the other two.

(7) It is plausible that the three schools of Vedānta have their origin in different experiential and existential contexts of its founders, just as Freud and Jung's systems of psychoanalysis emerged; and hence their content and scope differ from each other, which justify their treatment as separate systems from the point of view of the discipline. Therefore, there is scope to develop Advaita, Dvaita, and Vishishtādvaita systems of psychology that may have relevance and application depending upon individual and contextual differences, as each of the three systems has developed over a period of 1,800 years, beginning with Shankarāchārya in AD 800, with a number of followers expanding the teachings of the three masters.

(8) Sāmkhya tradition has not been paid sufficient attention by researchers. Rao (1966) has observed that the systematic Sāmkhya formulated in the classical *Sāmkhya Kārika* of Ishvara Krishna, is a culmination of a long history of thought, which commenced from the mythical name Kapila of probably the Vedic age. Since its beginning, there have been many schools of Sāmkhya, like that of Vedānta. It may be noted that all schools of Sāmkhya are not atheistic and we should not conceive Sāmkhya as 'one ready made and unaltered thought-system coming down from the mythological *Paramarshi* Kapila unalloyed through the ages' (ibid, p. 444). Systematic exploration of different schools of Sāmkhya darāana may go a long way in advancing our knowledge of human psyche.

(9) Indian indigenous perspective is not just Vedānta, Sāmkhya, and yoga. We have nyaya-vaisesika, Buddhism, Jainism, Sufism, itihasa, purana, sāhitya, vaidya vidya, ganita, shilpa shāstra, rājaneeti, dharmashāstra, and so on, and also folk traditions. They all deal with spiritual as well as practical day-to-day affairs of life. The texts and treatises related to them can also serve as useful sources for developing Indian psychology. We need to explore them, which is not done.

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:11 PM Page 155

(10) *Āyurveda* is contemporarily treated just as a medical system with treatment orientation. But it was conceived as 'knowledge of life'. A whole system of psychology can be developed from *Āyurveda*, with an applied orientation in the field of health and well-being.

(11) Besides the knowledge and wisdom of the ancient and medieval periods, in the modern period we have had many other movements which broke away from the Vedic tradition such as Sikkhism, Veerashavism, Dalit movement, and so on. We also have the Bhakti movement that transcends all kinds of divisions. These movements in general have shaped the psyche of different sections of contemporary society to a large extent. We need to attend to the contributions of these movements. While examining the initial ideology of these movements and subsequent societal developments, one cannot miss the fact that many of them that rebelled against the dogma of Vedic rituals have failed to sustain that spirit and have incorporated them in one way or another. It will be a worthy challenge for psychologists to understand the dynamics of this situation.

(12) It can be said that not everything of Indian psychology is supramental or spiritual either. Indian thinkers have encompassed the whole range of human behaviour. Perhaps the difference between modern psychology and Indian psychology is that, the latter is *spiritually informed psychology*, just as Misra and Gergen (1993) have used the term 'culturally informed psychology'. Therefore, developing the spiritual dimension in one self adds its flavour to all psychological processes. The famous *stitaprajna lakshana*, described by Krishna to Arjuna starts with the stanza *dukkeshu anudvigna manaha*, which means even a stitaprajna undergoes *dukkha*, suffering or sorrow, but he/she is not agitated by that, nor does he get excited when he is happy (*sukeshu vigatasprahaha*). The implication is that every human being, even the self-realized and liberated person, experiences all kinds of affective states, or sensory pleasures, but the difference lies in the awareness with which they are experienced. That makes the difference. Therefore, in developing Indian psychological thought the existing ~~xxx~~ psychological thought in India does not amount to identifying correspondences or isomorphic ideas to those of contemporary psychology. Instead it would be an endeavour to bring to bold relief ideas and concepts, which may or may not corrspond with that of modern psychology yet having its validity in human experience and in contemporary context as well (Salagame, 2008, p. 19–52). The time has come to enlarge the scope of psychological science by a rigourous creative venture to attend to the insights of indigenous thought systems and linking them to contemporary context~~x~~s.

chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:11 PM Page 156

NOTES

1. Hereafter my works are refered to as 'Salagame', instead of S. K. K. Kumar in citations.
2. Earlier, K. R. Rao (1988) made a similar attempt, which I came across during the present review.
3. *manaevamanushyanam karanam bandhamokshayoho*
4. Most Western researchers use the word 'meditation' in a generic sense and include many of the yogic techniques mentioned above (Carrington, 1987).
5. Italics and content in brackets inserted by the reviewer for emphasis.
6. This was supported by a scholarship instituted to promote Indian psychology in the department in 1975 during the Golden Jubilee celebrations.
7. *Yato vācho nivartante aprāpya manasā saha.*

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chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:11 PM Page 157

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chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:11 PM Page 158

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chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:11 PM Page 159

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chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:11 PM Page 169

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chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:11 PM Page 171

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chap02.qxp 4/27/2010 11:11 PM Page 172